

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
8/12/69

0725

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MNARA
Date	10/5/05

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 794

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03102 291741Z

51 42
ACTION: SS 10

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, /011 W

051162

P 291655Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2761

*Geneva 3102
8-29-69*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3102

LIMDIS

SUBJ: AMB FERGUSON'S ITINERARY

REF: GENEVA 3096

FOR U/CF

1. PLEASE INFORM FAMILY REVISED ITINERARY AMB FERGUSON
ASAP.

2. REQUEST SISTER TO REQUEST CCF MOTHER STAY WITH FAMILY
AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. USE HOUSEKEEPER AS FALLBACK.
TUBBY

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0726

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

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SERIAL

3102

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

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S/S-Screener *(3)*
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S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF *5*
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA *5*
AID 12

Principals and
"S" Area

Functional

ES
S
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J
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C
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CU
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LAB
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S/PM
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U/UCS

Other
WH 10
VP
DOD
CIA
USIA 4
PC

TRANS
CAB
AEC 3
NASA
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8/5/69

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By MW/ARA Date 10/5/03



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

31

CONFIDENTIAL 995

PAGE 01 COPENH 03352 291835Z

46

ACTION: EUR 22

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12,

NEA 13, AID 28, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 175 W

051552

R 291655Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2742
INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 3352

SUBJ: NORDIC FONMINS MTG

REF OSLO 3285

Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
on Sec 2

1. WORKING LEVEL FONOFF OFFICIAL (THUNE ANDERSEN) WHO ATTENDING
SUBJ MTG READ OFF AND BRIEFLY DISCUSSED ITEMS ON AGENDA OF MTG.
HE FELT THAT NIGERIA/BIAFRA ISSUE WOULD RECEIVE MOST ATTN AND THAT
NORWEGIAN MISSION REPORT WOULD WEIGH HEAVILY. (NORWEGIANS
REPORTING ON TRIP TO REST OF NORDICS 9:30 P.M. AUG 31.)
HOWEVER, HE SAID QUESTION OF RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA WOULD NOT BE
MAJOR ISSUE. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS FACILITATING AID PROGRAM,
BUT ALTHO NO POLITICAL PLANS EXPECT TO BE TABLED, DISCUSSION OF
POLITICAL ASPECT MAY BE LIVELY, HE ADDED.

① 2. ALSO ON MTG AGENDA IS ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES, NOT SPECIFICALLY
RELATED TO EITHER NATO OR UN ACTIVITY THIS FIELD. THUNE ANDERSEN
SAID DISCUSSION WOULD INVOLVE NATIONAL AND NORDIC COORDINATION,
SINCE ALL NORDICS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE
AGENCY (SEE COPENHAGEN 3278).

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Copenhagen - 3352
8-29-69

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 COPENH 03352 291835Z

3. MAJOR UN-RELATED SUBJ WILL BE ME BUT DISCUSSION EXPECTED TO CENTER ON (A) MOSQUE FIRE, (B) EXECUTIONS IN IRAQ, AND (C) SAFETY OF UN OBSERVERS IN VIEW DEATH OF SWEDISH OFFICER SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. ASKED ABOUT POSSIBLE DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ASPECTS OF ME SITUATION, THUNE ANDERSEN SAID NORDICS LEAVING THIS TO GREAT POWERS.

4. OTHER UN-RELATED SUBJECTS INCL SOUTHERN AFRICA (RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA), DISARMAMENT ON WHICH THE SWEDES WILL REPORT ON ENDC ACTIVITIES, AND UN'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR. (RE LATTER, THUNE ANDERSEN SAID THAT NORWEGIANS MAY HAVE INSIDE TRACK FOR NEXT YEAR'S UNGA PRESIDENCY BUT THIS DEPENDS ON NEXT MONTH'S NORWEGIAN ELECTIONS. AS FOR DANES, AMB TO UN BORCH WOULD NOT BE SUITABLE CANDIDATE SINCE HE JUNIOR AMB AND, SINCE HE HEAD OF MODERATE LIBERALS, HARTLING NOT LIKELY TO BE CANDIDATE.) OTHER, NON-UN-RELATED SUBJECTS INCLUDE GREECE (GENERAL DISCUSSION), ICELAND (SEABEDS AND FISHERIES IN VIEW OF ICELAND'S CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION), AND VIET NAM (GENERAL REVIEW OF SITUATION AND COORDINATION ON POSTWAR AID).

5. COMMENT: WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY SURPRISES TO EMANATE FROM MTG. GP-4.
DUDLEY

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By	MW:ARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-9 Biafra
Department of State ^{highly}
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 663

PAGE 01 ROME 05479 291652Z

42
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,CIAE 00,CCO 00,1071 W
----- / 050758

0 291622Z AUG 69 ZFF-6
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2112

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 5479

LIMDIS

REF: GENEVA 3088

SUBJECT: PROPOSED STATEMENT AFTER PAPAL AUDIENCE

VATICAN UNLIKELY CONCUR ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT.
EMBASSY ROME RECOMMENDS AGAINST PUBLIC STATEMENT
FOLLOWING PAPAL AUDIENCE. GP-3.
STABLER

Review
5479
8-29-69

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0730

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L I M D I S

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MilRep 1
Digest 1
Task Force 1

Principals and "S" Area

ES 1
S 1
U 2
J 1
D 1
C 1
S/PC 2

S/CPR 1
S/FW 1
S/GOV 1
S/IL 1

S/PM 1
S/R 1
U/CF X 1
U/PW 1
J/PM 1
D/WP 1
U/UCS 1

Geographic

AF 5 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 10
NEA 8

Functional

CU 1
E 2
H 1
INR 6 6
IO 4 4
L 2
O 3
OPR 1
OC 1
SY 1
WLG 1
P 1
S/PRS 1
SCA 1
VO 1
SCS 1
SCI 1

Other

WH 10 10
VP 1
DOD 1
CIA 1 P
USIA 4 P
PC 1

Other

ACDA 5
AID 12
TRSY 6
FRB 1
EXIM 1
BOB 1
CEA 1
COM 2
STR 1
TAR 1
WHRE 1
AGR 3
LAB 1
HEW 1
INT 1
TRANS 1
CAB 1
AEC 3
NASA 1
JUS 1
FBI 1
NIC 1
NSA 1
File 1
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8/5/69

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By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

75



POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

VN SOC 3 SWE RED CROSS

CONFIDENTIAL 796

PAGE 01 STOCKH 02532 291644Z

43

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 00,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, MC 02, E 15,

AID 28, IGA 02, TRSY 11, COM 08, DOT 12, UCF 05, RSR 01, 196 W

050687

R 291600Z AUG 69

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4091

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL GOTEBOG UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 2532

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA US ARMS EMBARGO

REF: STOCKHOLM 2364 AND PREVIOUS

1. FOLLOWING NAMES FURNISHED BY SWEDISH RED CROSS:

A. PILOT - GERALD COSTELLO

B. FLIGHT ENGINEER - LANSFORD RICE

C. FLIGHT ENGINEER - PASQUALE DOMINGUEZ

2. COSTELLO HOLDS US PASSPORT Z 992079, ISSUED STOCKHOLM

JUNE 3, 1969. NO FURTHER INFO ON RICE OR DOMINGUEZ.

GP-3

CAMERON

STOCKHOLM-2532
1-846

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26

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

75



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03085 291252Z

43
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01 IO 13 NEA 13 RSC 01 RSR 01 /034 W

049066

R 291100Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2746

UNCLAS GENEVA 3085

1. DEWEY, MEMBER FERGUSON STAFF, ARRIVING TEL AVIV 1615
SATURDAY AUG 30 VIA TWA 740. PURPOSE VISIT LOOK AT C-97 PROGRAM
IAI. IAI ARRANGING HOTEL RESERVATIONS AND WILL MEET.
TUBBY

GENEVA-3085
8-29-69

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0733

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Authority	VND954503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

75



POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 711

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03096 291717Z

40
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, D 02, RSR 01, RSC 01, /058 W
050948

P 291600Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2757
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USUN NEW YORK 3626

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3096

1. FOLLOWING IS AMB FERGUSON'S ITINERARY. HE WILL
BE ACCOMPANIED BY JAMES M. POPE.

AUGUST 29-ARRIVE ROME SR 612 2050.

AUG 30-LEAVE ROME SR605 1445 ARRIVE GENEVA 1615.

SEPT 1-LEAVE GENEVA SR 720 ARRIVE PARIS 0825. LEAVE PARIS
AF 636 1700 ARRIVE ROME 1955 LEAVE ROME ETHIOPIAN
701 2215 ARRIVE ADDIS SEPT 2, 0815.

SEPT 3-LEAVE ADDIS ALITALIA 841 1540 ARRIVE ROME 2300.

SEPT 4-LEAVE ROME SR 611 1050 ARRIVE GENEVA 1110.

SEPT 5-LEAVE GENEVA SR 810 0910 ARRIVE LONDON 1035 LEAVE
LONDON PAA 107 1430 ARRIVE DULLES 1745.

2. FOR ROME: CONFIRMING TELECON, PLEASE RESERVE HOTEL NIGHTS
AUGUST 29 AND SEPT. 3.

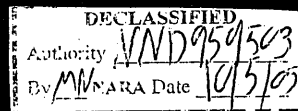
3. FOR ADDIS: AMB FERGUSON GLADLY ACCEPTS AMB'S INVITATION
STAY RESIDENCE. PLEASE RESERVE ACCOMMODATIONS FOR
POPE.
TUBBY.

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GENEVA-3096
8-29-69

0734



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 897

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03105 291737Z

53
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, 69

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01,

IGA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /141 W
051098

R 291700Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2763
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

GENEVA-3105
8-29-69

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3105

SUBJ: NIGERIA-ICRC

REF: A) GENEVA 2892 B) LAGOS 7725 C) STATE 146238

STATE PASS AID/NIGERIA/WILSON

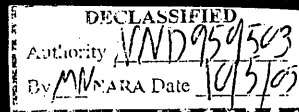
1. FREYMOND CHARIED VOLAG MEETING THIS AM. HE DISCUSSED ICRC LETTER (REFTEL A) IN LENGTHY SESSION WITHOUT BRINGING OUT ANY NEW POINTS. HE REAFFIRMED INTENTION ICRC CONTINUE ITS TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES UNDER GENEVA CONVENTION FMG AREA AFTER SEPT 30.

2. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS FREYMOND POINTED OUT THAT REHABILITATION COMMISSION-NRC RELATIONSHIP/ROLE AND WEARING OF RED CROSS BRASARD AFTER PHASEOUT NOT YET SETTLED. SEVERAL VOLAGS (E.G. CRS-UNION FOR CHILE PROTECTION) SAW NO PROBLEM AS THEY WOULD CARRY ON AS TO DATE.

3. US REP EXPRESSED APPRECIATION PAST ICRC ROLE AND OF BIGNAMI'S EFFORTS EFFECT TRANSFER TO FMG WITH MINIMUM LOSS EFFICIENCY. POINTED OUT THAT USG ASSISTANCE MUST MEET CERTAIN END USE CRITERIA. IN THIS CONTEXT FINAL FMG DECISION NATURE SUCCESSOR AGENCY (REHAB-NRC), OF COURSE, BECOMES IMPORTANT ELEMENT. USG DOES NOT REPEAT NOT INTEND RECLAIM SUPPLIES/EQUIPMENT IN PLACE (REF B)

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03105 291737Z

AND IN GENERAL WILL TRY LEND MAXIMUM SUPPORT TO ICRC PHASEOUT
FMG PHASEIN EFFORTS.

4. FREYMOND DREW ATTENTION VINNEL AND LSM CONTRACTS.
FORMER NO PROBLEM AS SIGNED WITH USAID, LATTER ISSUE MUST
BE RESOLVED SOON AS CONTRACT EXECUTED WITH ICRC. US REP
ASSURED FREYMOND THAT WASHINGTON AWARE OF PROBLEM WHICH
WILL BE TAKEN UP WITH ICRC DIRECTLY.

5. FREYMOND REQUESTED ALL AGENCIES REPLY IN WRITING TO
REF A BY SEPT 3. (SUGGESTED DRAFT REPLY FOLLOWS
BY SEPT 1.)

6. IN ASIDE AFTER MEETING FREYMOND TOLD US REP THAT
ICRC INTENDED RETAIN TWO-FIFTHS OF REMAINING SUPPLIES
FOR USE BY ITS DELEGATION IN CONNECTION ICRC'S RESIDUAL
FUNCTIONS UNDER GENVA CONVENTION AS "FMG WILL NOT FEED
IBOS IN BORDER AREA CAMPS."

7. COMMENT: FREYMOND'S PROFESSORIAL PERFORMANCE WAS
INTERSPERSED WITH OCCASIONAL HAWKISH REMARKS POINTING
OUT THAT HE KNOWN AS "TOUGH GUY" AND ADVISING VOLAGS DISPLAY
FIRMNESS IN DEALING WITH FMG.
TUBBY

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0736

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA
Date	10/3/05

ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA		
AF-5			AIRGRAM			FOR RM USE ONLY		
RM/R	REP	AF	A-409			LIMITED OFFICIAL USE		
1			NO.			HANDLING INDICATOR		
ARA	EUR	FE	TO : Department of State			RECEIVED		
5			INFO : LAGOS, USUN NEW YORK, US MISSION GENEVA			SEP 2 3 23 AM 1969		
NEA	CU	INR	FROM : Amembassy THE HAGUE			DATE: August 28, 1969		
5			SUBJECT: Dutch Parliamentarians Want GON to Act in Nigeria/Biafra Conflict			RS/R file		
E	P	IO	REF : Hague 3055 POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA					
2								
L	FBO	AIO						
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SEP 2 P. 12 21

COPIES FOR

Introduction

Nigeria/Biafra--a foreign policy problem for the GON and the focal point of Dutch media attention six months ago--has for the most part receded to the inner pages of the national dailies. Dutch interest in the past has generally focused on the humanitarian aspects of the problem. In this connection, the Foreign Minister initiated his "Luns Plan" and the Netherlands played host to The Hague Group's meetings on relief. Heretofore, the GON, other than for approaches to the OAU, tended to skirt the political aspects of the case because of African hostility to outside intervention and U Thant's reluctance to compete with OAU mediation efforts. Notwithstanding Luns' previous efforts, however, the Second Chamber is now pressing the Foreign Minister to "do something" in the political field.

Parliamentarians Want a Political Settlement

In late May, three Catholic Party MP's in the Second Chamber called Luns' attention to a letter to the Chamber from seventeen well-known Dutchmen, asking the Parliament to press for an unconditional cease fire in the Nigerian conflict. The three MP's requested Luns to spell out his past initiatives aimed at a political solution. In

Enclosures: 1. Question by Mr. Berkhouwer
2. Reply by Mr. Luns

SEP 2 1969

FORM DS-323

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Clearances:

0737

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

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Page 1 of 1
Encl. No. 1
The Hague A-409

QUESTION of Mr. Berkhouwer, Second Chamber Liberal MP
(posed July 14, 1969)

1. In light of the House of Commons debate of July 10, when both the Government and the opposition parties urged the United Kingdom Government to take steps in the United Nations, is the Minister prepared singly or following allied consultations, and/or in cooperation with other friendly Governments, to do his utmost, despite the procedural difficulties recently discussed in the Chamber, to find the ways and means to enable the competent U.N. bodies finally to put an end to the war in Biafra, either by means of an embargo on all weapons to both parties, or through any other appropriate measure?

2. Does not the Minister consider it justified, in view of a recent statement by Nigerian Government spokesman Awolowo who declared the starvation of the Biafran population to be an admissible weapon, to attempt, within or without the framework of the above-mentioned steps, to obtain the application of the U.N. Convention on Genocide of December 9, 1948, which gives every party to above-mentioned Convention, paragraph VII, the possibility of appeal to the competent U.N. body to put an end to acts of genocide? If the above-mentioned Convention would be declared inapplicable to the present case on legal grounds, can it be assumed that the United Nations General Assembly, by virtue of the Charter, is competent in matters of acts of genocide and that action could be undertaken on the basis of the Charter?

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0738

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Authority	VND 954563
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Date	10/5/05

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Page 1 of 1
Encl. No. 2
The Hague A-409

ANSWER of Mr. Witteveen, Minister of Foreign Affairs a.i.
(August 7, 1969)

1. The Government has taken many steps to look into the possibilities of raising the question of the Nigerian civil war in the United Nations. The Government has approached, among others, the Scandinavian Governments, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and the United Nations Secretary General. It became apparent, however, that there are no real possibilities, at the moment, to have the question of the Nigerian civil war successfully inscribed on the United Nations General Assembly's or Security Council's agenda. This conclusion was confirmed by the correspondence, of which the Chamber received a copy, between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.N. Secretary General on this matter. The obstacles to such an initiative are not so much of a procedural, but of a political nature: a pertinent proposal does not stand a chance of being adopted by a majority in these U.N. bodies as long as the African members of that International Organization do not show a greater willingness to cooperate in such a proposal.

It is repeated that if a possibility to contribute to the realization of peace in Nigeria presents itself, the Government will certainly seize it.

2. An international group of observers, operating in Nigeria, regularly reports on its findings at the front and in the Federally-controlled areas. From these reports, there are no indications which justify the thesis that the Federal Government would be guilty of genocide vis-a-vis the Ibo population.

Notwithstanding Mr. Awolowo's statement, which is deeply regretted on our side, the Government has no reason to believe that the Nigerian Federal Government intends to stop all relief aid, although that Government opposes those forms of aid which, in its opinion, could be of a military or a political benefit to the other side.

Attempts to invoke the Genocide Convention in the U.N. would encounter the same obstacles as those indicated under item 1.

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addition, the MP's asked if Luns was prepared to take a "formal initiative" together with like-minded countries to seek a UN-sponsored cease fire in the conflict, since the OAU efforts had not been fruitful.

At that time, Luns enumerated various GON efforts to seek a solution to the problem, specifically his approaches to Haile Selassie as well as to U Thant and others. He also mentioned that he had written to U Thant on May 29 concerning the UN and the Nigerian question. Luns undertook to inform the Parliament when U Thant responded.

The UN Convention on Genocide

On July 14, a Liberal MP called on Luns to do his utmost to have the Nigerian question inscribed on the agenda of the competent UN body (see attached). In an additional question, the MP also asked Luns whether Awolowo's recent statement that the starvation of the Biafran population was an admissible weapon would justify the invocation of the U.N. Convention on Genocide.

In the GON's reply of August 7 (also attached), acting Foreign Minister Witteveen again enumerated the various steps taken by the GON and pointed out that the Africans object to a role for the UN in the conflict. In this connection, he noted that U Thant's recent reply to Luns' letter of May 29 confirmed the GON's view.

With regard to the charges of genocide, Witteveen indicated that independent observers had found no such evidence in Nigeria. While regretting Awolowo's statement, Witteveen said the GON had no reason to assume that the FMG intends to cut off all relief aid. He noted that efforts to evoke the Convention on Genocide would encounter precisely the same opposition from the Africans as on the agenda proposal. He promised to seize every opportunity to contribute to peace in Nigeria.

Comment: Second Chamber pressures undoubtedly account in great measure for the Foreign Ministry's need to "do something about Nigeria" (reftel). When the Fall session of Parliament opens, Luns can probably count on continued spurring from various Parliamentarians to work actively toward a political solution in Nigeria.

P2
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By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/03

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INDICATE:
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☐ CHARGE TO

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 Classification

Department of State
TELEGRAM

28 Aug 69 21 20z

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-ANGOLA
 145950

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

LIMDIS

FOR FERGUSON FROM NEWSOM

Subj: ICRC Relief Program not to make

1. In view of apparent ICRC decision ~~to make~~ public announcement before Sept. 1

~~for some days~~ will defer final decision on USG public statement

to await further developments.

2. In discussions here in context other USG interests in ICRC

activities (e.g. Viet Nam) seems certain Department will issue

statement through Dept spokesman at ~~appropriate~~ appropriate time to which you then

~~then~~ can/call attention ~~to~~ if requested comment.

3. Will insure special problems Nigerian situation adequately

covered in Dept statement and will send you text/in time incorporate

your reactions. ~~when available~~

4. The skillful job you and Amb Tubby have done last 24 hours has

obviously played a big part in saving at least these several days.

We appreciate it.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:ba *WBS*

DRAFTING DATE

8/28/69

TEL. EXT.

21185

APPROVED BY:

AF - David D. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

S/PRS - Mr. McGloskey (sub)

U/CF - Mr. Davidson

S/R-Mr. Romano (sub)

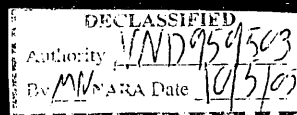
RP/GR

SECRET

Classification

FORM FS-413
 4-68

0741



66



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Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

28

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
" LAGOS "
USMission GENEVA "

INFO: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE
" PARIS "

LIMDIS

Ref: (A) State 145430; (B) Geneva 3062

Subj: Nigerian Relief - Daylight flights

In view evident ICRC intransigence as indicated ref B and consequent
abandonment idea of Ferguson trip to Lagos at this time, Dept.
considering what other steps may be possible but awaiting report
final ICRC action.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:GBSherry:ba

DRAFTING DATE

8/28/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

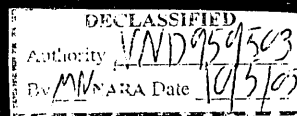
AF/E-Info

SECRET

Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0742



44



INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

146276

483

28 Aug 69 23 38z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

INFO: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

STATE

LIMDIS

FOR CHARGE FROM NEWSOM

1. It obvious the excellent and timely Lagos reporting over past few days have played major part in ICRC decision delay withdrawal announcement until Sept. 1. Dept most appreciative your performance.
2. In view fact Bignami ~~is~~ returning Lagos morning Aug. 29 to seek early appointment Gowon and your report British Hicom will make similar effort, would prefer leave to your discretion way in which you can be most helpful in stimulating FMG approval ICRC daylight flight proposal.
3. You authorized concert with Bignami and UK Hicom to seek means assisting their respective demarches and assure them our wholehearted support their effort.

(2)

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	APPROVED BY:
AF/SN:RLPerkins:nb	8/28/69	23406	AF - DDNewsom

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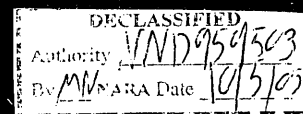
AF/SN - WHBrubeck
w HB/gp

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0743





POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 006

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03078 281913Z

45
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, DODE 00, /071 W
043817

O 281900Z AUG 69 ZFF-6
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2741
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T GENEVA 3078

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF-DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

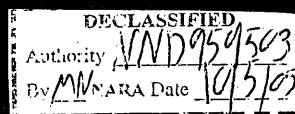
REF: STATE 145548

SITUATION 1930 LOCAL RE ICRC MEETING:

1. U/CF IN HOURLY DIRECT CONTACT BASSET PASSING LAGOS TELS AND URGING ICRC NOT PUBLICLY FORECLOSE DEVELOPING SITUATION LAGOS.
2. LATEST INFO IS MEETING MAY WELL GO BEYOND 2200.
3. AT 1930 BASIC DECISION REACHED: ICRC WILL WITHDRAW RELIEF EFFORT EFFECTIVE AUG 28 IF NO AFFIRMATIVE REPLY RECEIVED FROM FMG BY SEPT 1. ICRC WILL COMMENCE PROCESS OF STAGED WITHDRAWAL RELIEF EFFORT IN EVENT NO REPLY BY SEPT 1. NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE MADE BEFORE SEPT 1.
3. DECISION DOES NOT AFFECT ICRC "TRADITIONAL ROLE", I.E., POW'S.
4. BASSET (PROTECT) INFORMS NAVILLE PERFORMED BRILLIANTLY USING BOT FILIBUSTER TACTIS AND ARGUMENTS PUT TO HIM IN AM BY FERGUSON/TUBBY WHICH HE HAD APPARENTLY REJECTED IN MORNING. "HAWKS" INSISTED FMG LAYING TRAP FOR ICRC, I.E.,

SECRET

0744





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 03078 281913Z

WILL ANNOUNCE DECISION AFTER ISTANBUL CONFERENCE COMMENCED.
SOURCE (PROTECT) INDICATED ONLY THING HAWKS GAINED WAS FIRM
DECISION ICRC PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BEFORE
OPENING CONFERENCE. "INSTANT" COMMUNICATIONS LAGOS/GENEVA
ON FRIDAY DEVELOPMENTS IN LAGOS APPARENTLY GAVE NAVILLE
TACTICAL ADVANTAGE HE NEEDED.

5. REMAINDER MEETING CONSIDERING PROBLEM OF PHASED
STEP-BY-STEP WITHDRAWAL.

6. COMMENT: NAVILLE ALIVE (UNTIL MONDAY). HAWKS (FREYMOND)
BETTING NO FMG POSITIVE REPLY BY MONDAY.
TUBBY

SECRET

0745

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/02

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

Screener ✓

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NOV 5 47

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MONTHLY COUNT 700

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1
S/S-O 1
S/S-Screener 3
S/S-EX
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S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF 5 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

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INR 6 6
IO 4
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AGR 3

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S/IL

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U/CF X
U/PW
J/PM 1
D/WP
U/UCS

Other

WH 10 10
VP
DOD 1
CIA 1
USIA 4 4
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AEC 3
NASA

JUS
FBI
NIC
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File
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8/5/69

0746

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954/503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 Department of State ^{XR ORG 7 U/CF}
TELEGRAM

SECRET 857

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03067 281809Z

44
 ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,CIAE 00,USIE 00,071 W
 043412

O P 281640Z AUG 69 ZFF-1
 FM USMISSION GENEVA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2733.
 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T GENEVA 3067

LIMDIS

FROM FERGUSON

REF: STATE 142110, ADDIS 3808, GENEVA 3062.

1. PROPOSED REVISED ITINERARY AMB FERGUSON:
 AUG 29 LV GENEVA 1830 SR 612 ARRIVE ROME 2050.
 AUG 31 LV ROME FOR PARIS
 SEPT 1/2 LV PARIS FOR ADDIS
 SEPT 4/5/6 LV ADDIS FOR WASHINGTON
 SEPT 8/9 LV WASHINGTON
2. TELCON FROM ROME 1430 REPORTED AUDIENCE WITH POPE SET.
 SATURDAY 1100 WITH SESSION WITH BAYER AND CERUBBINI PRECEDING
 AUDIENCE.
3. INTEND KEEP ALPHAND APPOINTMENT MONDAY (WILL NEED ALL
 HELP AGAIN TO PREVENT COLLAPSE TALKS IN FACE FMG PERFORMANCE)
 DEPARTURE IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER FOR ADDIS. THENCE RETURN
 WASHINGTON WEEKEND SEPT 6/7. NOTE LAGOS VISIT MUST BE PLANNED
 IN LIGHT OF FERGUSON ISTANBUL COMMITMENT (SEE FERGUSON
 SEPTEMBER ITINERARY DELIVERED AD/W BY U/CF).
4. APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT COMMENTS ASAP.

USBY

*Geneva 3067
 8-28-69*

0747

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority VMD 950503
 By MNA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

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S/S-EX 1
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MilRep 1
Digest 1
Task Force 1

Principals and
"S" Area

ES 2
S 1
U 1
J 1
D 1
C 1
S/PC 2

S/CPR 1
S/FW 1
S/GOV 1
S/IL 1
S/PM 1
S/R 1
U/CF 1
U/PW 1
J/PM 1
D/WP 1
U/UCS 1

Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

CU 1
E 2
H 1
INR 6
IO 4
L 2
O 3
OPR 1
OC 1
SY 1
WLG 1
P 1
S/PRS 1
SCA 1
VO 1
SCS 1
SCI 1

Other

WH 10
VP 1
DOD 1
CIA 1
USIA 4
PC 1

Other

ACDA 5
AID 12

TRSY 6
FRB 1
EXIM 1
BOB 1
CEA 1
COM 2
STR 1
TAR 1
WHRE 1
AGR 3

LAB 1
HEW 1
INT 1

TRANS 1
CAB 1

AEC 3
NASA 1

JUS 1
FBI 1
NIC 1
NSA 1
File 1

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0748

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By MM NARA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 354

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03060 281337Z

48-40
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, /071 W
041364

Z O 281125Z AUG 69 ZFF6
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS FLASH
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2723

S E C R E T GENEVA 3060

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADD CAPTION LIMDIS)

REFERENCE LAGOS 77721 STATE 145430

IN VIEW SUBSTANCE NAVILLE/FERGUSON CONVERSATION GENEVA, HAVE
CANCELLED PROPOSED LAGOS TRIP FRIDAY. FULL REPORT SITUATION
FOLLOWS SEPTEL.
TUBBY

*Geneva 3060
8-28-69*

1

SECRET

0749

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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3060

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S/S-Screener *3*
S/S-EX
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MilRep
Digest
Task Force

Principals and "S" Area

ES
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S/PC *2*

S/CPR
S/FW
S/GOV
S/IL

S/PM
S/R
U/CF
U/PW
J/PM
D/WP
U/UCS

Geographic

AF *5*
ARA *9*
EA *11*
EUR *10*
NEA *8*

Functional

CU
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IO *4*
L *2*
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OPR
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S/PRS

SCA
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Other

WH *10*
VP
DOD *P*
CIA *P*
USIA *4*
PC

Other

ACDA *5*
AID *12*

TRSY *6*
FRB
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AEC *3*

NASA

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FBI

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NSA

File

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0750

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Authority VND 954503
By MWA Date 10/5/03

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

145513

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

FLASH

Info:

STATE

LIMDIS

REF: Lagos 7773

In view Geneva 3060, disregard State 145505.

END

28 Aug 69 13 50Z

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145513

ROGERS:

①

Drafted by:

AF/SN: RWach: 11

8/28/69

Tel. Ext.
23469

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

AF/SN: WH Brubeck

Clearances:

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0751

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

145505

63 73

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28 AUG 69 10 02z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS FLASH

Info:

STATE

LIMDIS

Ref: Lagos 7773

Proceed on basis State 145430. Ambassador Ferguson
already informed.

END

505-571

ROGERS

①

Drafted by:

AF/W:GBSherry:jfd

Tel. Ext.
21512

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

S/S-O:RGRich, Jr.

Clearances:

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0752

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Authority: VMD 954503
By: MNA Date: 10/5/03

66



POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 408

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07773 281407Z

46
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DOME 00, /071 W
041573

O 280850Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8657
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7773

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: STATE 144930; STATE 145430; LAGOS 7772

1. STATE 144930 INDICATES FERGUSON TRAVEL LAGOS CONTINGENT
ON NAVILLE ACTION WHILE 145430 INSTRUCTS US SEEK APPOINTMENT
WITH GOWON. APPRECIATE FLASH FROM GENEVA CONFIRMING
FERGUSON TRAVEL. GP-1
OLSON

Handwritten: 8-28-69 7773

①

SECRET

0753

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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LAGOS

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Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S **1**
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S/S-Screener **3**
S/S-EX
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MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF **5**
ARA **9**
EA **11**
EUR **10**
NEA **8**

ACDA **5**

AID **12**

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

CU
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Other

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WH **10**
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CIA **P**
USIA **4**
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8/5/69

0754

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Authority VMD 954/543
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POST Lagos

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SERIAL 7773

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Secretariat

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Task Force

Principals and
"S" Area

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Geographic

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EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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File
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8/5/69

0755

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MW Date 10/5/05

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

U N C L A S S I F I E D

Classification

145507
62B
28 AUG 69 10 22z
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Origin
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
USMission GENEVA

STATE

Ref: Lagos 7773 ✓

Reftel has been raised to LIMDIS.

END

145507

ROGERS

2

Drafted by: S/S-O:GSPosz:jfd

Tel. Ext. 21512

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S/S-O:RGRich, Jr.

U N C L A S S I F I E D

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0756

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VIND 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 153

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03058 281059Z

17
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00,

/071 W

040427

Z O 281045Z AUG 69 ZFF6
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS FLASH
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2741

S E C R E T GENEVA 3058

LIMDIS

SUBJECT NIGERIA-ICRC

REFERENCE GENEVA 3036

1. AMBASSADORS TUBBY AND FERGUSON HAVE JUST MET WITH NAVILLE. NAVILLE CONFIRMED THAT ICRC COMMITTEE MEETING TODAY (1315 GMT-1415 GENEVA TIME) IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO ORDER ICRC WITHDRAWAL IN ABSENCE FMG RESPONSE RE INTERIM FLIGHT PROPOSAL. HE IS SOLE MEMBER WISHING DEFER PULLOUT DECISION, AND CONVINCED ONLY POSITIVE FMG REPLY CAN CHANGE OUTCOME THIS P.M.
2. REQUEST "FLASH" ANY INFO YOU MAY HAVE RE YESTERDAYS FMG EXEC. COMMITTEE MEETING. IF YOUR REPLY CONTAINS ANY NEW POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN SITUATION, WILL APPRECIATE RECEIVING CABLE IN FORM PERMITTING US SHOW IT TO ICRC/NAVILLE IN FINAL EFFORT SHORE HIM UP VIS-A-VIS ICRC COMMITTEE. "NOFORN" INFO AND COMMENTS SHOULD BE PUT IN SEPTEL.
3. BIAFRANS (COOKEY) YESTERDAY ACCEPTED ICRC PROPOSAL IN FULL. NAVILLE ASSUMES BIAFRA WILL STATE THIS PUBLICLY BY TOMORROW, THUS PUTTING FULL BLAME ON FMG.
4. FERGUSON TRAVEL DECISION SEPTEL FLASH.
5. OTHER DETAILS TODAY'S DISCUSSION WITH NAVILLE FOLLOW SEPTEL.
TUBBY

SECRET
7

Geneva 3058
8-28-69

0757

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/03

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

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MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

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S/S-Screener 3
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Digest
Task Force

Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Other

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

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Principals and "S" Area

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Other

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File
Burned

8/5/69

0758

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VIND 954/503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

8-28-69
7783

SECRET 224

PAGE 01 LAGOS 0783 281238Z

47
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,CIAE 00,USIE 00,071 W
040908

Z 281200Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8664
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7783

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF : GENEVA 3058

NOTHING ADD TO INFO SUBMITTED PREVIOUS TELS AND
HOCKE MESSAGE NAVILLE. WE CONVINCED REASONABLY
GOOD POSSIBILITY ACHIEVING FMG AGREEMENT. ICRC
DECISION WITHDRAW THESE CIRCUMSTANCES BE HIGHLY
IRRESPONSIBLE ACTION. AS LAST DITCH MEASURE
SUGGEST DEPT CONSIDER INFORMING ICRC THAT USG
WILL HAVE TO SO STATE IF THIS UNFORTUNATE ACTION
TAKEN. GP-3
OLSON
BT

NNN

(1)

SECRET
32

0759

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 950503
By MM NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

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POST

Lagos

SERIAL

7783

(Time Received)

10:00 AM 8/5/69

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

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S/S-O *1*
S/S-Screener *3*
S/S-EX *2*
S/S-CMS
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MilRep
Digest
Task Force

Principals and "S" Area

ES *2*
S *2*
U
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S/PC *2*

S/CPR
S/FW
S/GOV
S/IL
S/PM
S/R
U/CF *X*
U/PW
J/PM *1*
D/WP
U/UCS

Geographic

AF *5*
ARA *9*
EA *11*
EUR *10*
NEA *8*

Functional

CU
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INR *6*
IO *4*
L *2*
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Other

WH *10*
VP
DOD *8*
CIA *8*
USIA *4*
PC

Other

ACDA *5*
AID *12*
TRSY *6*
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8/5/69

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By *MM* Date *10/5/03*



POL 7 BIAFRA
POL 77-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 00, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, UCF 05, UPH 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCB 04, SCA 01,

RSR 01, 144 W

041561

P 281031Z AUG 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0659

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN

AMCONSUL KADUNA

AMCONSUL IBADAN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 7777

SUBJ: AZIKIWE STATEMENT

REF: LONDON 6785 (NOTAL)

1. FOLLOWING FCO TELEGRAM TO UKHICOM LAGOS SUPPLEMENTS REFTEL

(BEGIN TEXT)

2. HAMZAT AHMADU CALLED ON SIR J. JOHNSTON ON 25 AUGUST. COPY OF RECORD OF MEETING WILL BE SENT BY NEXT BAG.

3. HAMZAT SAID THAT ZIKI HAD AGREED TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE RELEASED IN LAGOS AND LONDON AT

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66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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8-28-69
7807

SECRET 626

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSD 00,
USIE 00, CCO 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01,
SS 20, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, UCS 15, RSR 01,
/154 W

042386

O 281534Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8678
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET LAGOS 7807

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: LAGOS 7780; LAGOS 7775

1. EDDIE ENAHORO, DEP PERM SEC MINEXTAFF, HAS JUST CONFIRMED
TO ME THAT CHIEF ENAHORO NOT RPT NOT TRAVELLING; WILL
DISCUSS EMERGENCY DAY FLIGHT PROPOSAL WITH OMO-BARE TODAY;
AND BOTH WILL SEE GOWON ON MATTER TOMORROW. CLEAR THAT
FMG NOW MOVING RAPIDLY (VERY RAPIDLY FOR THEM) TO
RESOLVE MATTER. OUR IMPRESSION CONTINUES TO BE THAT THERE
REASONABLE CHANCE SUCCESS. GP-1.
OLSON

①

SECRET
26

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

Handwritten: Lagos 7813
8-28-69

SECRET 718

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07813 281657Z

45 S
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01,

ORM 03, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, /144 W
042827

O P 281623Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7813
USMISSION GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T LAGOS 7813

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

UK HICOMER WITH WHOM I HAVE JUST BEEN DISCUSSING
EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROBLEM IS NOW
PRESSING HARD FOR APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON EARLY AS
POSSIBLE TOMORROW. HE PLANS LAY OUT VIGOROUSLY ALL
ARGUMENTATION IN EFFORT CONVINCE GOWON CALL SPECIAL
MEETING EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WITH PURPOSE ACHIEVING
PROMPT AGREEMENT ICRC PROPOSAL. GP=3.
OLSON
BT

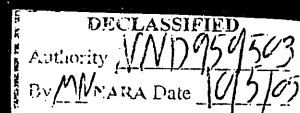
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POC 27-9 BIADNA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

NR 506 3 RED CROSS

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44
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CCO 00,
SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01,
/144 W

GENEVA-3070
8-28-69

O R 281740Z AUG 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2731
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

043230

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3070

SUBJ: NIGERIA-ICRC

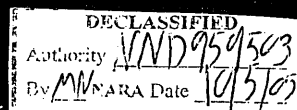
REF: A) STATE 145548 (NOTAL) B) GENEVA 3069

1. ICRC STILL IN SESSION; MEETING MAY LAST UNTIL 2200.
WE SAW BIGNAMI BRIEFLY AS HE WAS LEAVING ICRC AT 1800
FOR LAGOS WITHOUT DECISION IN POCKET. MOST OPTIMISTIC
OUTLOOK REMAINS DECISION TO WITHDRAW WHICH WOULD GO
INTO EFFECT MONDAY UNLESS FMG AGREES TO INCEPTION FLIGHTS
BY THEN. BIGNAMI MESSAGE TO HOCHE MAKES SAME ASSUMPTION
(SEE SEPTTEL).

2. WE HAVE PASSED GIST LAGOS 7807 TO COMMITTEE AND
BELIEVE IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO NAVILLE IN EFFORT OBTAIN
DELAY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF LIKELY WITHDRAWAL ORDER.
TUBBY

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03069 281747Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, SS 20, NSC 10, SCS 04,

SCA 01, RSR 01, RSC 01, 074 W

043193

O R 281730Z ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2730

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3069

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING ASAP TO ICRC DEL:

QUOTE

POUR HOCHE CICR LAGOS DE BIGNAMI (CHIFFRE) VIA US MISSION GENEVA
AI REUSSI CONVAINCRE COMITE NE PAS PUBLIER IMMEDIATEMENT SA
DECISION ET REPORTER DE QUELQUES JOURS DECLARATIONS PLAN
INTERNATIONAL STOP AI PRETENDU EXISTE ENCORE POSSIBILITE
ENTENTE REPRISE IMMEDIATE VOLS EMERGENCY STOP NEANMOINS
ABSOLUMENT NECESSAIRE QUE VOLS PUISSENT COMMENCER DEBUT SEMAINE
PROCHAINE STOP DEMANDEZ DIRECTEMENT EVENTUELLEMENT AVEC AIDE
AMIS ENTRETIEN AVEC CHEF ETAT AVANT FIN SEMAINE STOP SUB-
SIDIAIREMENT MINISTRE AFFAIRES ETRANGERES STOP CONFIRME MON
ARRIVEE LAGOS VENDREDI MATIN BEA 277. UNQUOTE
TUBBY

GENEVA - 3069
1-2869

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03068 281820Z

45
ACTION SS 30

ACTION COPY

INFO OCT 01/031 W

043483

R 281740Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2734

SECRET GENEVA 3068

EXDIS:

SUBJ: NIGERIA: CROSS RIVER TALKS:

1. SCHOTT AND DEWEY MET WITH HOLLIST AT 3:15 PM TODAY TO EXPLORE IN DETAIL FMG REACTION TO CARTEL. HOLLIST HAD NOTHING MORE TO OFFER BEYOND QUESTIONS RAISED AT AUG 26 MEETING WITH OBI SINCE LAGOS HAD FURNISHED NO ADDITIONAL REACTIONS OR INSTRUCTIONS. SCHOTT ELABORATED IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ON BASIC DMG PROBLEMS OF SPONSOR, CLEARANCE, AND INSPECTION. HOLLIST, AS ONLY MEMBER PRESENT FOR DUTY, HAD TO RUSH BACK TO NIGERIAN MISSION AFTER ONE HOUR 20 MINUTE SESSION TO "STUFF THE BAG" FOR LAGOS. SAIDHE MIGHT BE ABLE TO INCLUDE SOME OF THE RESPONSE TO LAGOS' QUESTIONS IN TODAY'S POUCH.

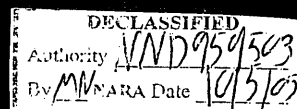
2. ON QUESTION OF GETTING ADDITIONAL REPRESENTATION FROM LAGOS, HOLLIST SUPPOSED IT MIGHT BE ARRANGED IF KOLO "FEELS IT IS NECESSARY". CONCERNING NEXT MEETING HOLLIST THOUGHT BY SOME TIME "NEXT WEEK" HIS DELEGATION MIGHT BE READY.

3. COMMENT: HOLLIST LACKADAISICAL, MONOSYLLABIC PERFORMANCE CLEAR REFLECTION TOTAL LACK OF SUPPORT FROM LAGOS. RESULTED IN OBVIOUSLY EMBARRASSING SESSION FOR HIM. HE IN EFFECT APOLOGIZED FOR HIS GOVERNMENT'S MEAGRE REACTION, SAID IT HAD ARRIVED TOO LATE FOR HIS MISSION TO REQUEST DELAY CURRENT ROUND OF TALKS PENDING RECEIPT ADEQUATE INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS. KOLO OBVIOUSLY PART OF PROBLEM, NOT LIKELY TO REQUEST, OR ADMIT NEED FOR RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR OVERLOOKED HOLLIST. CLEAR FERGUSON MUST MAKE IMMEDIATE

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The seal of the United States Department of State is located at the top center of the page. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it, separated by two small stars.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03068 281820Z

MAJOR EFFORT WITH BIAFRANS AND FRIENDS TO AVOID COLLAPSE
OF TALKS DUE TO FMG PERFORMANCES.
TUBBY

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S/S-O	11	Date	8/28/69

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03071 281801Z

44

ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,/03! W

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O 281740Z AUG 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2732

S E C R E T GENEVA 3071

EXDIS.

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF JCA C-97 REQUEST

REF: GENEVA 3044 - att

1. JEAN CHENARD OF UCA, INDICATING HE ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM "NEW YORK" DELIVERED VERBAL PROTEST NOTE TO FERGUSON THURSDAY OVER DELAY IN GETTING MORE PLANES. SAID WRITTEN PROTEST TO FOLLOW AS SOON AS TELEX CAN BE PUT IN PROPER DIPLOMATIC FORM.

2. CHENARD APOLOGIZED FOR HAVING TO MAKE STRONG PRESENTATION BUT SAID HE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO PUSH MATTER VIGOROUSLY. REFERRING TO EARLIER HISTORY C-97 REQUESTS TO USG, CHENARD SAID "IN LIGHT OF MOUNTING CHILD MORTALITY JCA CANNOT GIVE ASSURANCES THAT QUIET AND DIPLOMATIC PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE MAINTAINED AFTER NEXT TUESDAY."

3. SAID JCA UNDER "SUSPICION FROM OUR COLLEAGUES AND OUR CONSTITUENTS, WHO SAYING WE ARE GOING TO DO NOTHING WHILE CHILD MORTALITY INCREASING. PEOPLE LOOKING TO JCA FOR MORE. PEOPLE LOOKING TO UNITED STATES FOR LEADERSHIP. WE STILL DO NOT HAVE PLANES."

4. TOLD FERGUSON JCA APPRECIATED FACT US MIGHT BE AWAITING ICRC OUTCOME BUT EMPHASIZED "WE ARE AT SAD POINT NOW THAT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS DO NOT APPEAR TO BE IN NEAR FUTURE."

5. CHENARD SAID SOME JCA PLANES OUT OF COMMISSION "BECAUSE THEY GO TO TEL AVIV" FOR SERVICING. WHEN YOU GIVE US

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03071 281801Z

TWO PLANES AND DO NOT GIVE US TWO BACKUP PLANES, YOU CUT OPERATIONS IN HALF."

6. FERGUSON ASSURED CHENARD AND PETER LUMB, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM, PROTEST WOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO WASHINGTON IMMEDIATELY.

7. COMMENT: (A) IN LIGHT OF ICRC EVENTS, BELIEVE SOME FORM AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON JCA REQUEST IMPERATIVE. BELIEVE WELL PUBLICIZED CAMPAIGN HIGHLIGHTING APPARENT USG UNWILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT ORGANIZATION NOW GETTING RELIEF INTO ENCLAVE WOULD LEAVE USG IN INTOLERABLE POSITION HAVING TO KNUCKLE UNDER IN PUBLIC LOSING ANY CHANGE TO MINIMIZE DAMAGE FMG-USG BY PRIVATE ARRANGEMENTS.

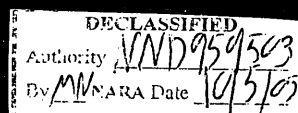
(B) REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS FOR REPLY TO NOTE AND POSITION TO TAKE ON MATTER WHEN RAISED BY POPE. (C) TEXT NOTE BY SEPTEL WHEN RECEIVED.
TUBBY

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L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01,

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040425

R 280835Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO
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INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L OSLO 3441

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA CONFLICT AT NORDIC FONMIN MEETING

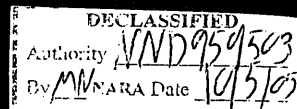
REF: OSLO 3285

1. IN CALL AT FONOFF AUGUST 26 DCM ASKED FONOFF PRESS SPOKES-
MAN TIM GREVE HIS VIEWS ON RENEWED NORWEGIAN PUBLIC INTEREST IN
NIGERIA/BIAFRA CONFLICT. DCM HAD REFERENCE TO 1) PUBLICATION LAST
WEEK OF RESULTS CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP) POLL SHOWING THAT
67 PERCENT OF THOSE INTERVIEWED FAVORED RECOGNITION BIAFRA; 2) CALL
FOR RECOGNITION BIAFRA BY CPP CHAIRMAN LARS KORVALD; AND 3) FONMIN
LYNG'S AUGUST 22 STATEMENT, WIDELY REPORTED WITH VARYING DEGREES
OF ACCURACY, THAT NORWAY HAD REQUESTED THAT BIAFRA BE PRINCIPAL
TOPIC AT REYKJAVIK NORDIC FONMIN MEETING.

2. GREVE TENDED DISMISS BOTH POLL AND KORVALD STATEMENT AS BEING

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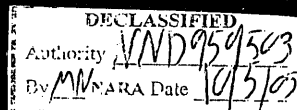
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ELECTION TACTIC INTENDED MAKE CPP APPEAR BOTH RADICAL AND CHRISTIAN TO ITS OWN YOUTH AND TO VOTING PUBLIC AS WHOLE. AS FAR AS GOVT CONCERNED, POSITION ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA REMAINS UNCHANGED AND EMPHASIS AT REYKJAVIK MEETING WILL BE ON QUESTION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. GREVE MADE CLEAR THAT FONMIN'S APPARENT RESPONSIVENESS TO CPP ELECTIONEERING DOES NOT RPT NOT PORTEND CHANGE AT PRESENT TIME IN NORWEGIAN POSITION AGAINST RECOGNIZING BIAFRA. HE PREDICTED REYKJAVIK COMMUNIQUE WOULD NOT THAT MINISTERS DISCUSSED CONFLICT AND, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO POLITICAL ISSUES AT STAKE, AGREED KEEP ON WITH THEIR EFFORTS SOLVE ASSISTANCE PROBLEMS. GP-3.
CROWE

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01/071 W

048750

R 291150Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2751

SECRET GENEVA 3090

LIMDIS

SUBJECT NIGERIAN RELIEF-ICRC PROGRAM

FOR CHARGE

LAGOS 7813 APPARENTLY ULTIMATE STOPPER ICRC MEETING.
MANY THANKS. CLYDE.
TUBBY

General 3090
8-29-69

①

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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE
" GENEVA "
Info: " ADDIS ABABA "
INFO: " LONDON RR
" PARIS

Subject: Nigerian Relief Flights

1. In view of questions which have arisen both Lagos and Addis concerning US role Nigerian relief we are suggesting Clyde Ferguson after talk with Naville tomorrow (28th) proceed immediately Lagos and Addis outline current activities directly to Gowon and Emperor. Occasion will also provide opportunity further FMG - ICRC talks on daylight flights and enlist greater FMG cooperation Cross River talks.

In
2./ scheduled meeting with Naville 11 am, 28th Ferguson should explain this urge in name purpose and in light this further approach ~~USG ICRC will~~ defer withdrawal decision pending result this effort. Ferguson would then go Lagos (Thursday night London flight at 2245) for Friday talks.

3. Charge Lagos should seek urgently appointment for Ferguson with Gowon explaining USG desire that Gowon have up to date information and understanding current USG relief efforts prior his attendance OAU.

4. In proposing Ferguson visit Lagos we do not intend suggest we are assuming responsibility FMG - ICRC negotiation. We hope however Ferguson will have opportunity against background hoped for ICRC postponement withdrawal decision

Drafted by: AF:DDNewsom:ehd 8/27/69 Tel. Ext. 22530 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: U - The Under Secretary

Clearances:

U/CF - Mr. Davidson (in Sept) S/S - Mr. Taylor S/PC - Mr. Ruser

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Page 2

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ACTION: Lagos, Geneva, Addis Ababa Immediate
Info: London, Paris

Info:

explain urgent necessity FMG decision on daylight flights. At same time reiterating continued strong USG desire closest possible understanding with FMG, Ferguson should outline serious problems which would be posed by ICRC withdrawal and complete breakdown current efforts establish effective relief arrangement. Guidance being sent septel for Ferguson use in his discretion if it becomes apparent FMG/to ICRC proposal impossible but he feels worth exploring variants with FMG.

5. In context this trip we suggest Ferguson inform Cookey and Houphouet of urgent trip at request Washington expressing hope two sides in Geneva will continue study cartel with U/CF Staff and in hope his urgent consultations two key capitals may facilitate progress.

6. For Addis: Appreciate possible problems seeking audience with Emperor in midst OAU Foreign Ministers session. We would hope desire USG have Emperor fully informed relief aspects Nigerian problem would be satisfactory rationale and justification request for audience early next week. Please advise Ferguson Lagos and Department. Further guidance Addis portion will follow later.

7. We leave possible contact with French to your discretion depending on schedule.

ROGERS

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Clearances:

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0777

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VIND 954543
By: MWA Date: 10/5/05

OUTGOING (60)
WIROM
INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET - EXDIS
Classification

ACTION: US Mission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

STATE

DAVIDSON TO FERGUSON
SUBJECT: C-97's

146268
42
B
28 Aug 69 23 23z
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1. The following is a memorandum written from Secretary Newsom to Claus Ruser proposing a method of informing JCA concerning sale of two C-97s.

2. I propose that Bishop Swanstrom be handled as follows:

(a) Ronald Davidson (U/CF) will call Kinney to indicate that we are moving forward and that the Bishop will receive a call from the Under Secretary next week, just after Labor Day.

(b) On the 2nd or 3rd, the Under Secretary would call Bishop Swanstrom reaffirming the USG's agreement to sell JCA two additional C-97s. He would add that we are engaged in some delicate discussions affecting the prospects for a more effective relief program, with the concurrence of both parties, and premature disclosure of the C-97 transaction might seriously jeopardize Nigerian cooperation.

Drafted by: U/CF:RADavidson
Tel. Ext. 23256
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: U/CF:RADavidson
Clearances: AF/AFW - Mr. Sherry (in subst.) U - Mr. Ruser (in subst.)
S/S - Mr. Brown

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FORM 8-65 DS-322B

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ACTION: PAGE 2
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(c) The Under Secretary should make it clear that there must not be any public disclosure until delivery, which could be September 12 or two or three days thereafter.

~~XXXXX~~

3. Above scenario is being considered by Under Secretary.

Do you have any suggestions or comments? Please reply by immediate tel.

END.

ROGERS:

8/28/69.

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C / 10	✓	NEA	
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S/S-O	11	Date <i>28 August 69</i>	Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	4	AF	13-14
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U/CF	12	Defense	
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PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
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C ✓ 10		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/P		White House XXXX	
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓ 12		Defense	
		State Rep	
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03080 282219Z

89
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
044914

P 281910Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2743

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FROM FERGUSON

LIMDIS

REF: GENEVA 3071 *mc*

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT JCA MESSAGE RECEIVED VIA UNCLASSIFIED
TELEX:

QUOTE

URGENT ATTENTION AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

CONFIRMING OUR CONVERSATION THIS AFTERNOON JCA/USA URGENTLY
NEEDS IMMEDIATE DELIVERY OF ADDITIONAL TWO C-97-G'S REQUESTED,
NOT ONLY BECAUSE ONE OF JCA/USA AIRCRAFT IS NOW CONTINUALLY
INVOLVED IN OVERHAUL AND SERVICING TEL AVIV ON ROTATING BASIS,
BUT BECAUSE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BIAFRA REALLY DEMANDS
PROMPT ACTION. JCA/USA HAS KEPT STRICTLY TO STATE DEPARTMENT'S
REQUEST THAT APPROVAL OF ADDITIONAL TWO AIRCRAFT BE KEPT HIGHLY
CONFIDENTIAL FOR "REASONABLE" TIME PENDING NEGOTIATIONS WHICH
YOU AND OTHERS UNDERTAKING. HOWEVER, IN VIEW MOUNTING CHILD
MORTALITY RATE BIAFRA, AND EXPECTATIONS OTHER GROUPS INVOLVED
IN JCA AIRLIFT WHO LOOK TO U.S. FOR LEADERSHIP, THIS "REASONABLE"
TIME CANNOT GO ON INDEFINITELY AND IT MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE TO
HOLD TO SUCH UNDERTAKINGS OF CONFIDENCE AFTER TUESDAY SEPT 2ND.

WE ARE MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ASSURANCE THAT THIS MATTER WILL
BE BROUGHT TO THE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION OF WASHINGTON.

RESPECTFULLY, CHENARD, CRS GENEVA.
UNQUOTE

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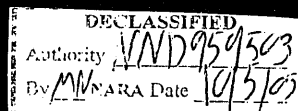
PAGE 02 GENEVA 03080 282219Z

TUBBY
DT

NNN
NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION INSERTED PER INSTRUCTIONS MR. BLACKWILL, SS-O.

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EA 11
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NEA 8

ACDA 5
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Functional

Principals and
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03062 01 OF 02 281442Z

45 42
ACTION SS 70

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Z O 281415Z AUG 69 ZFF-6
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SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3062

LINDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF-DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, NAVILLE-FERGUSON-
TUBBY TALKS, FERGUSON-BASSET TALK.

REF: A) GENEVA 3036; B) STATE 145430; C) LAGOS 7734 D) STATE 144930

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED SERIES SUBJECT
CONFERENCES THIS AM:

A) ONLY POSITIVE FMG AUTHORIZATION FLIGHTS FORTHWITH
RECEIVED BEFORE ICRC MEETING ADJOURNS 17:00 THURSDAY CAN
PREVENT DECISION TO WITHDRAW.

B) FERGUSON VISIT LAGOS CAN BUY 24 HOURS DELAY IN
ANNOUNCING DECISION BUT ONLY IF USG CAN GUARANTEE POSITIVE
RESULT.

C) ANY DELAY FOR WHATEVER REASON WITHOUT DELIVERY
POSITIVE FMG DECISION WITHIN 24 HOURS OF MEETING WILL RENDER
NAVILLE'S POSITION UNTENABLE.

D) LIGHT FOREGOING AND LATTER DETAILED CIRCUMSTANCES
FERGUSON OPINION EMERGENCY LAGOS DEMARCHE SHOULD NOT BE
MADE THIS WEEKEND. END SUMMARY

2. FOLLOWING FURTHER DETAILS TUBBY/FERGUSON MEETING WITH
NAVILLE AM.

SECRET

27

Geneva 3062
8-28-69

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A) SCHUMANN MEETING (SEE PARIS 12846). NAVILLE FOUND SCHUMANN VERY "AU COURANT" WITH NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN ISSUES. SCHUMANN STATED WILLINGNESS INTERCEDE WITH BIAFRANS ON BEHALF ICRC INTERIM PROPOSAL (NAVILLE THEN STILL LACKED CONFIRMATION OF ACCEPTANCE BY BIAFRANS). SCHUMANN ALSO EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TALK TO BIAFRANS IF ULI WERE TO REJECT PLANES THAT HAD BEEN CALLED DOWN AT LAGOS. RE DIFFICULTIES POSED BY FMG, SCHUMANN TOLD NAVILLE "ASK YOUR FRIENDS, THE ENGLISH."

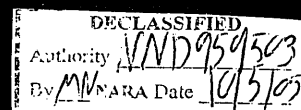
B) ACCEPTANCE OF ICRC INTERIM PROPOSAL BY BIAFRA. WHILE NAVILLE WAS MEETING SCHUMANN, FREYMOND WAS MEETING WITH COOKEY IN GENEVA. COOKEY ACCEPTED ICRC PLAN IN TOTO INCLUDING PARA 2(7), I.E. RANDOM CALL-DOWN OF PLANES BY FMG. HE STATED, HOWEVER, THAT PLANES COULD NOT PROCEED ULI AFTER LANDING LAGOS. NAVILLE POINTED OUT THAT ICRC PROPOSAL DID NOT STIPULATE THAT CALLED-DOWN PLANES HAD TO BE ACCEPTED BY BIAFRANS. HOWEVER, HE STATED THAT IF FMG AGREED TO ICRC PROPOSAL, CALLED-DOWN PLANES WOULD CONTINUE FROM LAGOS TO ULI. IF BIAFRANS DENIED LANDING RIGHTS, BLAME WOULD SQUARELY REST ON THEM. EVEN IF ONE SUCH PLANE WERE REJECTED BY BIAFRANS, ICRC WOULD CONTINUE FLY IN ACCORDANCE PROVISIONS OF PROPOSALS INCLUDING PARA 2(7) AND PUT PRESSURE ON BIAFRANS BY HAVING CALLED DOWN PLANES SYSTEMATICALLY CONTINUE TO ULI AFTER SETTING DOWN AT LAGOS.

C) ICRC COMMITTEE MEETING THIS PM NAVILLE POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD BEEN PLAYING FOR TIME. REFTEL A. COMMITTEE MEETING HAD BEEN CALLED AT INSISTENCE OF MEMBERSHIP. MEMBERS UNANIMOUSLY FELT ICRC HAD ALREADY WAITED TOO LONG. MEMBERS CLEARLY WOULD DECIDE THIS AFTERNOON ON ICRC WITHDRAWAL UNLESS REPEAT UNLESS FMG MIRACULOUSLY REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY PRIOR TO ADJOURNMENT OF AFTERNOON'S MEETING. TO SWAY COMMITTEE, REPLY WOULD HAVE TO CONTAIN EITHER FORTHWITH OR SPECIFIC DATE FOR INCEPTION FLIGHTS. MERE STATEMENT BY GOWON OR OTHERS THAT PROPOSAL WAS UNDER SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OR FAVORABLE ACTION ANTICIPATED, WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT SUFFICE. SEVERAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WHO UNABLE ATTEND SESSION ALREADY HAVE GONE ON RECORD WITH NAVILLE THAT THEY WISH FIRM DECISION THIS AFTERNOON. NAVILLE STATED THAT HE WAS SOLE MEMBER OF COMMITTEE WHO WAS WILLING

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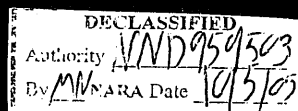
TO WAIT A FEW DAYS. COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE CONVINCED FMG ACTING IN BAD FAITH AND HAD LOST ALL HOPE OF ARRIVING AT SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT. NAVILLE OBSERVED THAT HE WAS LAST MEMBER WITH ANY HOPE BUT LOSING IT RAPIDLY. FURTHER OBSERVED THAT SOME MEMBERS THINK HE IS DRAGGING FEET BECAUSE HE UNWILLING TO FACE UP TO FACT OF FAILURE HIS POLICY.

D1 BIGNAMI WILL ATTEND MEETING AND LEAVE TONIGHT FOR LAGOS. "HE MUST HAVE FIRM DECISION BEFORE DEPARTURE. HE ALSO HAS BECOME SKEPTICAL." IMPORTANCE OF MEETING IS FURTHER UNDERLINED BY ATTENDANCE BY SWISS AMBASSADOR REAL WHO HAS COME FROM LAGOS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MISS JENKINS, S/S-O. 8/28/69

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03062 02 OF 02 281449Z

45 42.
ACTION SS 70

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Z 0 281415Z AUG 69 ZFF-6
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SECRET SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3062

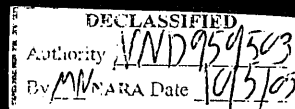
LIMDIS

3. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON REPEATEDLY PROBED TO DETERMINE WHETHER THERE WAS POSSIBILITY SOME FLEXIBILITY IN FORTHCOMING COMMITTEE DECISION, FOR EXAMPLE, IF USG THROUGH HIM WERE TO MAKE NEW HIGHEST-LEVEL APPROACH IN LAGOS. HE POINTED OUT THAT EARLIEST PLANE WOULD LEAVE TONIGHT BUT TIMING DIFFICULTIES OF SETTING UP MEETING WITH GOWON ETC., MIGHT PRECLUDE POSITIVE RESULTS UNTIL EARLY NEXT WEEK. NAVILLE FORCEFULLY STATED AGAIN THAT COMMITTEE WILL NO LONGER HOLD STILL (ALTHOUGH HE WOULD TRY A FILIBUSTER APPROACH IN MEETING AWAITING WORD FROM LAGOS) BUT MUST MAKE A DEFINITIVE DECISION THIS AFTERNOON. THE ONLY FLEXIBILITY HE SAW WAS POSSIBILITY TO DEFER THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF ICRC DECISION FOR 24 HOURS (WHICH DUE TO WEEKEND POSSIBLY MIGHT ACTUALLY MEAN DELAY UNTIL MONDAY ALTHOUGH THIS WAS UNCERTAIN).

4. AMBASSADORS FERGUSON AND TUBBY ARGUED TIME SHOULD BE BOUGHT IN SOME FASHION, E.G. ALTHOUGH DECISION MADE, HOLD UP ANNOUNCEMENT LONGEST TO INSURE ICRC AGAINST POSSIBILITY FMG MIGHT COME ACROSS FRIDAY, SATURDAY, EVEN SUNDAY MORNING. NAVILLE FROM COMMITTEE VIEWS ALREADY KNOWN. (REFTEL A) ALSO INDICATED ICRC UNDER "EXTRAORDINARY PRESSURE" FROM SCANDINAVIAN GOVERNMENTS AND RED CROSS SOCIETIES. AMB FERGUSON SUGGESTED IN VIEW OF TIME PROBLEM HE MIGHT UNDERTAKE ON OWN INITIATIVE TO REQUEST JOINT US-UK DEMARCHE TODAY TO FMG FOLLOWED BY HIS OWN TRIP IF COULD BUY SOME FORM DEFERRAL DECISION. (FERGUSON INFORMED NAVILLE HE REASONABLY CERTAIN DEPARTMENT WOULD

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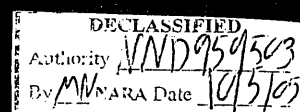
APPROVE OF HIS ACTION BY OPENING OF BUSINESS IN D.C).
NAVILLE REFUSED BUDGE FROM POSITION.

5. COMMENT: A) NAVILLE TIRED AND RESIGNED TO INEVITABILITY OF WITHDRAWAL DECISION THIS PM. HE FEELS, OF COURSE, STRONGLY THAT THIS WILL CONSTITUTE A COMMITTEE FINDING THAT HIS POLICY RE NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN RELIEF HAS FAILED. HE IS LEAVING ON WEDNESDAY FOR ISTANBUL AND RECOGNIZES THE DECISION MUST BE MADE PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE. B) NAVILLE STANCE AND SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION FERGUSON-BASSET CONFIRMS COMMENT REF. A. (AFTER NAVILLE MEETING FERGUSON RETURNED ICRC UNDER PRETEXT PERSONAL DELIVERY LAGOS 7775 TO ENGAGE BASSET IN FURTHER EFFORT DELAY DECISION BASIS INFO LAGOS 7775. BASSET IN TEARS. INDICATED PLAIN FACT IS WILL BE WITHDRAWAL NO MATTER WHO'S PRESIDENT.) WILL KNOW BY 18:00 LOCAL TIME IF NAVILLE SURVIVES. C) LIGHT OF ABOVE FERGUSON CONCLUDED EMERGENCY FRIDAY-SATURDAY DEMARCH LAGOS HAS NO POSSIBILITY AFFECTING ICRC DECISION UNLESS USG COULD GUARANTEE RESULT, WHICH CANNOT DO. THUS, BELIEVE LAGOS VISIT BE MORE FRUITFUL AFTER "INEVITABLE" ICRC DECISION AND REACTIONS IN. N.B. BASSET JUST CALLED (1450 LOCAL) TO REPORT ICRC MEETING COMMENCED WITH PRESENTATION BY AMB REAL. TONE OF PRESENTATION PESSIMISTIC ACCORDING BASSET. TUBBY

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MISS JENKINS, S/S-0, 8/28/69

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I N C O M I N G

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Other

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MilRep 3
Digest 3
Task Force 3

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and "S" Area

ES 1
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S/PC 2

CU 1
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INR 6
IO 4
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O 3
OPR 1
OC 1
SY 1
WLG 1
P 1
S/PRS 1

TRSY 6
FRB 1
EXIM 1
BOB 1
CEA 1
COM 2
STR 1
TAR 1
WHRE 1
AGR 3

S/CPR 1
S/FW 1
S/GOV 1
S/IL 1

SCA 1
VO 1
SCS 1
SCI 1

LAB 1
HEW 1
INT 1

S/PM 1
S/R 1
U/CF 1
U/PW 1
J/PM 1
D/WP 1
U/UCS 1

Other
WH 10
VP 1
DOD P
CIA P
USIA 4
PC 1

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8/5/69

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Principals and "S" Area

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S/PC **2**

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Geographic

AF **5**
ARA **9**
EA **11**
EUR **10**
NEA **8**

Functional

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Other

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CIA **P**
USIA **4**
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Other

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SECRET 615

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07772 280152Z

85

ACTION SS 70

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O 280100Z AUG 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8656

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7772

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: STATE 144930, LAGOS 7734

1. LIKELY FMG WILL RESENT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE APPLIED BY U.S. AS RESULT OF FERGUSON VISIT. NEVERTHELESS, WE FACE TO FACE WITH GUT ISSUE, I.E., KEEPING ICRC IN PICTURE WHICH WE BELIEVE IMPERATIVE. IF FERGUSON VISIT WILL BUY TIME WITH ICRC BELIEVE VISIT WELL WORTH WHILE. BELIEVE OPPORTUNITY DISCUSS WITH FMG PROBLEMS CROSS RIVER CARTEL IN ITSELF WORTHWHILE.

2. ON OTHER HAND WE ARE SOMEWHAT LESS THAN CERTAIN THAT VISIT WILL GREATLY SPEED CONSIDERATION AIRLIFT PROPOSAL BUT MIGHT HELP AND COULD BE USEFUL IN INITIATING TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS ON SUBJECT PENDING FINAL DECISIONS. MUST POINT OUT THAT TWO KEY PRINCIPALS WILL NOT REPEAT NOT BE ON SEAT - ARIKPO ALREADY IN ADDIS ABABA AND CHIEF ENAHORO LEAVING TOWN ON FRIDAY - WITH RESULT THAT ONLY GOWON, EXTAFF ENAHORO AND OMO-BARE AVAILABLE FOR DISCUSSIONS. IF FRIDAY APPOINTMENTS DESIRED, MUST KNOW SOONEST. SHORT NOTICE APPOINTMENTS WITH GOWON INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO ARRANGE.

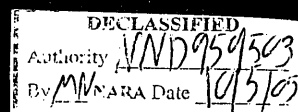
3. REGRET REPORT NEITHER UK HICOM EFFORTS OR OUR OWN HAVE YET PRODUCED PROGRESS ON PROPOSED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS ON EMERGENCY DAYFLIGHT PROPOSAL. WE HAVE SOME HOPE TWO ENAHOROS MAY COME UP WITH SOMETHING TODAY.

4. WE BELIEVE IT PREFERABLE INSOFAR AS FMG CONCERNED THAT

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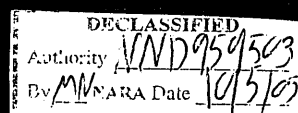
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FERGUSON NOT REPEAT NOT HANG VISIT ON "STALLED CROSS RIVER
TALKS". DO NOT BELIEVE NECESSARY HE CREDIT VISIT TO ANY SPECIAL
ASPECT RELIEF PROGRAM. IN THIS REGARD, WE HAVE HAD OF LATE
SEVERAL GOVERNMENT AND DIPLOMATIC QUERIES AS TO WHEN FERGUSON
NEXT VISITING LAGOS.
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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8662

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SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: GENEVA 3058: LAGOS 7775

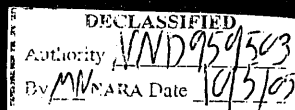
1. HOCKE (ICRC) HAS ASKED US TRANSMIT FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO NAVILLE/BIGNAMI ON MUST URGENT BASIS.

2. BEGIN TEXT. FROM HOCKE TO NAVILLE/BIGNAMI. I HAVE SEEN OMO BARE THIS MORNING AND EXPLAINED TO HIM ONCE MORE URGENT NEED FOR THE ICRC TO AT LEAST BEGIN IMMEDIATE TALKS ON TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR DAY FLIGHTS PENDING FINAL FMG DECISION. I REEMPHASIZED ENTIRE ARGUMENT BASED ON 2.7. OMO BARE CONFIRMED THAT HE WAS GOING TO MEET CHIEF ENAHORO AND HAVE TALKS WITH MEA AND DEFENSE TODAY. FURTHERMORE HE WILL SEE GOWON ON FRIDAY TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT. IF I HAVE NOT HEARD FROM HIM FRIDAY I PLAN TO SEE HIM ON SATURDAY AGAIN AND HOPE HE CAN TELL ME THE DAY FOR BEGINNING TECHNICAL TALKS. I FOUND HIM RATHER FORTHCOMING UNLIKE WHAT HIS ATTITUDE WAS AT HIS LAST MEETING WITH BIGNAMI. I AM CONVINCED THAT WITHIN NEXT TWO DAYS YOU WILL GET THE PROOF SHOWING FMG WILLINGNESS OR NOT TO GO ALONG WITH THE ICRC PROPOSAL. I THINK THE CHANCES ARE VERY GREAT THAT THEY WILL. END TEXT.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8658
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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7775

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. FOLLOWING INFO JUST RECEIVED FROM UKHC AND
IMPORTANT FERGUSON HAVE IN NAVILLE MEETING. 11:00 A.M. TODAY.

2. BEGIN TEXT. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DID NOT DISCUSS ICRC
PROPOSALS. THIS WAS PARTLY DUE TO PREOCCUPATION WITH
URGENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY MATTERS, AND PARTLY TO THE
FACT THAT OMO-BARE WAS NOT IN LAGOS. OMO-BARE HAS BEEN
GIVEN SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR DEALING WITH CERTAIN
ASPECTS OF RELATIONS WITH ICRC, AND OTHER COMMISSIONERS
FEEL IT ESSENTIAL TO GET HIS AGREEMENT. CHIEF ENAHORO
AND OMO-BARE ARE MEETING TOMORROW TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE
INTERIM REPLY TO ICRC, WHICH INCLUDE SUGGESTION THAT BIGNAMI
SHOULD RETURN TO TECHNICAL TALKS STRAIGHT AWAY. BUT
THERE SEEMS NOT MUCH HOPE OF A SUBSTANTIVE DECISION
BEING REACHED UNTIL NEXT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING ON
WEDNESDAY 3 SEPTEMBER. I (UK HICOMER) WILL TRY TO SEE
GOWON ON THIS SUBJECT BEFORE THE END OF THE WEEK. END TEXT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7734

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SUBJ: ICRC EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT PROPOSAL

REF : LAGOS 7688: GENEVA 3025 (NOTAL)

I DISCUSSED AT LENGTH IMPORTANCE URGENT FMG REPLY TO
ICRC EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL WITH DEP PERM SEC
MINEXTAFF ENAHORO LAST NIGHT IN DETAIL STRESSING:
(1) SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FAILURE DO SO POSE NOT ONLY FOR
FMG BUT ALSO FOR US AND OTHER FRIENDS WHO ENDEAVORING BE
HELPFUL; AND (2) ADVANTAGES WHICH WOULD ACCRUE TO FMG
OF REACHING AGREEMENT WITH ICRC INCLUDING IMPORTANT
ELEMENT OF CONTROL OVER RELIEF TO BIAFRA WHICH OTHERWISE
FMG WOULD NOT HAVE, POSSIBILITY BRING CHURCH GROUPS AROUND
TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS ON SAME TERMS AND, OF COURSE, ACHIEVEMENT
OF GREATLY IMPROVED POSTURE IN WORLD OPINION. ENAHORO
CLEARLY SOLD ON THESE POINTS BUT SAID NO RPT NO PROSPECT
MATTER BEING TAKEN UP IN FED EXEC COUNCIL TODAY OWING
ABSENCE REHAB COMMISSIONER OMO-BARE. HE DID AGREE SOME
IMMEDIATE ACTION NECESSARY. I SUGGESTED FMG INFORM ICRC,
HOPEFULLY BEFORE IT MEETS THURSDAY, THAT OVERALL PROPOSAL
BEING CONSIDERED BUT THAT IN MEANTIME FMG INTERESTED
AND PREPARED START TECHNICAL TALKS AT ONCE, POSSIBLY
THURSDAY OR FRIDAY. ENAHORO UNDERTOOK TRY AND GET
URGENT APPROVAL FOR THIS STEP WHICH WE HOPE WOULD HOLD LINE WITH

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ICRC FOR ANOTHER WEEK.

2. I LATER HAD DISCUSSION WITH UK HICOMER. WE BOTH HAD JUST LEARNED CHIEF JUSTICE'S TALK WITH GOWON WAS INCONCLUSIVE PROBABLY BECAUSE IT APPEARED THIS WAS GOWON'S FIRST EXPOSURE TO LATEST ICRC PROPOSAL. HICOMER CONFIRMED THAT IN HC TALKS SEVERAL "KEY MILITARY PERSONS", THEY SAW NO RPT NO OBJECTIONS TO PROPOSAL. HICOMER, HOWEVER, HOPING FOLLOW UP THIS MORNING WITH CHIEF ENAHORO TO URGE SUPPORT IDEA IMMEDIATE TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS BEFORE FED EXEC COUNCIL MEETS. HE ALSO TRYING OBTAIN EARLY APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON TO DISCUSS WHOLE MATTER.

3. COMMENT. I BELIEVE, AND UK HICOMER AND HOCKE ICRC SHARE THIS VIEW, THAT THERE GOOD POSSIBILITY FMG WILL AGREE TO EMERGENCY PROPOSAL. MATTER APPEARS ONLY NOW TO HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO GOWON'S ATTENTION AND WE BELIEVE GOWON WILL REFLECT ON CHIEF JUSTICE'S EXPLANATION. LINE-UP OF MINEXTAFF, MININFO, CHIEF JUSTICE AND INFLUENTIAL MILITARY PERSONNEL IMPRESSIVE AND PRINCIPAL PROBLEM AS WE VIEW IT IS THE NEED FOR ANOTHER FEW DAYS, PERHAPS A WEEK, FOR THE MATTER TO BE SORTED OUT IN FMG. HOPEFULLY, POSSIBILITY OF TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS CAN BE HELD OUT IN EVEN SHORTER TIME. EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BEING DONE HERE TO EXPEDITE DECISION. IN MEANTIME, IMPERATIVE ICRC BE PERSUADED REFRAIN FROM HASTY ACTION WHICH WOULD NOT ONLY CREATE PROBLEMS FOR FMG AND ITS FRIENDS (EXCEPT SOVS) BUT MOST OF ALL NEEDY IN BIAFRA AND FOR FUTURE ICRC ITSELF. WE HAVE NO RPT NO DOUBT HASTY ICRC ACTION ALSO HAVE ADVERSE IMPACT ON PROSPECTS AGREEMENT RIVER ROUTE. FURTHERMORE, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT ICRC NOT RPT NOT CONFIDENT IT HAS BIAFRAN AGREEMENT SINCE BIAFRAN REPLY HEDGED AND ISSUE FMG RIGHT OF CALL DOWN SEEMINGLY IGNORED. SEEMS TO US ICRC SHOULD NOT RPT NOT CONSIDER ITS EFFORTS FAILURE AND THUS FIND EXCUSE PULL OUT UNTIL POSITION OF TWO SIDES CLARIFIED. ALSO ICRC BE WELL ADVISED NOT RPT NOT THROW IN SPONGE BEFORE ISTANBUL MEETING HAD DISCUSSED MATTER. SUCH DISCUSSION MIGHT PROVIDE FINAL LEVERAGE FOR AGREEMENT EMERGENCY FLIGHT PROPOSAL, IF THAT NOT ACHIEVED BY THAT TIME, AND CERTAINLY PROVIDE BETTER AND MORE GRACEFUL BASIS FOR (1) DECISION PULL OUT THAN ICRC HAS AT PRESENT, OR (2) RATIONALE WHICH PERMIT IT FACE PUBLIC OPINION IN DECISION HANG ON A BIT

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SECRET GENEVA 3048

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SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA CROSS RIVER TALKS

1. FERGUSON ACCOMPANIED BY SCHOTT AND DEWEY MET AT ULTRAMARE VILLA WITH NIGERIAN AND BIAFRAN DELEGATIONS FOR TWO HOURS YESTERDAY AFTERNOON.
2. HOLLIST "DUE TO SHORTAGE OTHER STAFF" WAS LONE FMG REP WHILE OBI CAME ALONE FOR BIAFRA. (AFTER PRIOR PHONE CALL VERIFYING KOLO WOULD NOT SHOW, COOKEY ELECTED NOT TO COME.)
3. SEPARATE SESSIONS WERE HELD WITH HOLLIST AND OBI TO EXPLORE REACTIONS TO CARTEL, THEN FERGUSON CHAIRED JOINT MEETING FOR MORE FORMAL STATEMENT PARTIES' POSITIONS.
4. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY FMG REACTIONS:
 - A. REQUESTED CLARIFICATION OF SPONSOR RELATIONSHIP TO ULTIMATE AUTHORITY ESPECIALLY ULTIMATE AUTHORITY CONTROL OVER SPONSOR ALONG PORTION OF ROUTE UNDER ITS CONTROL (ART. 1, SECTION 1).
 - B. REQUESTED CLARIFICATION OF "CLEARANCE" WHETHER THIS MEANS CARGO INSPECTION ON ENTERING NIGERIAN WATERS OR MERELY INSPECTION SHIPS PAPERS.
 - C. RE ARTICLE 1, SECTION 3(E), SUGGESTED ESTABLISHING QUALIFYING CRITERIA FOR RELIEF AGENCIES DESIRING TO USE ROUTE, APPARENTLY WITH INTENT EXCLUDE JCA.

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D. SUGGESTED REFERENCE TO INSPECTION/CLEARANCE VESSELS ON RETURN TRIP.

HOLLIST SUMMARIZED SAYING SPONSORSHIP AND CLEARANCE WERE PRINCIPAL FMG PROBLEMS WITH CARTEL. LAGOS INSTRUCTIONS ASKED FOR DETAILED ANSWERS TO OTHER QUESTIONS, BUT THESE WERE RELATED TO THE SPONSOR/CLEARANCE ISSUES.

5. BIAFRAN REACTIONS: OBI QUALIFIED DRAFT AS "CLEVER, WELL PRODUCED:"

A. RE RELATIONSHIPS ULTIMATE AUTHORITIES AND SPONSOR, CARTEL DOES NOT SUFFICIENTLY RESTRAIN ULTIMATE AUTHORITIES FROM MEDDLING WITH OPERATION. WOULD DESIRE FURTHER SURRENDER OF THEIR AUTHORITY TO SPONSOR (ART 1).

B. CONCERNED OVER DEFINITION OF SPONSOR (ART I, SECT 2), WOULD REQUIRE SPONSOR TO HAVE POLITICAL CHARACTER SO AS TO STRENGTHEN ITS ABILITY TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS (E.G. CONSORTIUM MAJOR DONOR COUNTRIES, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH POLITICAL CHARACTER, OR GOVERNMENTS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES).

C. RE GUARANTEES (ART 7), WOULD ADD GUARANTEES TO BE PROVIDED BY SPONSOR IN ADDITION TO THOSE REQUIRED OF THE PARTIES. ON ART 7 (A) WOULD OMIT ALL AFTER "IKOT OKPORA."

D. AGREE WITH FMG THAT "CLEARANCE" UNDER ART 2 SHOULD BE MORE
PRECISE. OBJECT TO ANY PHYSICAL BOARDING OR STOPPING OF
VESSELS BETWEEN ORIGIN AND IKOT OKPORA.

E. RE ARTICLE 6, REITERATED OBJECTION TO RED CROSS MARKINGS. WOULD CHANGE SECTION 6 TO "NOTIFY" PARTIES OF VESSEL ADDITIONS, RATHER THAN OBTAIN AGREEMENT. (HOLLIST AGREED.)

6. HOLLIST MADE SOMEWHAT INCOHERENT CLOSING REMARKS GIST OF WHICH WAS THAT FACT OF FMGGING THROUGH THIS EXERCISE WAS SYMBOL OF ITS GOOD WILL, SINCE ART 23 GENEVA CONVENTION ACTUALLY PERMITTED FMG TO DICTATE TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS. HE INDICATED FMG WILLING TO CONCEDE THIS PREROGATIVE, HOWEVER, WOULD CONSENT TO NEGOTIATE IN THOSE AREAS NOT VITAL TO NIGERIA'S SECURITY. OBJ CLOSED WITH BRIEF REFERENCE TO OVERRIDING MANDATE OF SPIRIT RATHER THAN LETTER OF CONVENTION.

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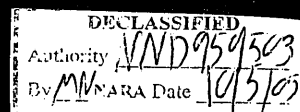
7. (A) BOTH PARTIES AGREED TO "LABOR ARBITRATION" MODEL FOR DISCUSSIONS, I.E. UZCF WORK WITH BOTH SIDES SEPARATELY TO DETERMINE AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT AND SUGGEST COMPROMISES. FACE TO FACE MEETINGS TO BE RESERVED FOR FORMAL AGREEMENT OR LAST STAGE WORK ON COMPROMISES. FERGUSON QUERIED BOTH SIDES WHETHER THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF FERGUSON AND STAFF NOT PRESENT AT FACE-TO-FACE MEETING, I.E. LEAVE THE TWO SIDES TO WORK OUT OWN AGREEMENT ALONE. BOTH SIDES FLATLY REJECTED NOTION. (B) CENTRAL PROMISE SPONSORSHIP AND INSPECTION.

8. COMMENT: THIS SESSION DEMONSTRATION THAT FMG REPRESENTATION NOT ONLY OUTCLASSED BY BIAFRAN DELEGATION, BUT THAT FMG NOT TAKING NEGOTIATIONS SERIOUSLY. HOLLIST'S PERFORMANCE, WHICH CORRECT AND ADEQUATE PREVIOUS MEETINGS, WAS INEPT AND SOMEWHAT INCOHERENT THIS SESSION. FMG LACK OF INTEREST IN PROVIDING APPROPRIATE DELEGATION, AND NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY, HAS ALREADY CAUSED COOKEY TO WITHDRAW FROM JOINT SESSION. REPEAT OF YESTERDAY'S PERFORMANCÉ COULD SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE OR TERMINATE TALKS. AS RESULT, HAVE DECIDED ONLY PRODUCTIVE COURSE OF ACTION HERE IS TO ATTEMPT HOLD SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS, ARTICLE BY ARTICLE. IN EVENT POSITIVEMOVEMENT, COULD CONSIDER ANOTHER JOINT SESSION, POSSIBLY FRIDAY. ONLY ACTION LIKELY TO PRODUCE MOVEMENT, HOWEVER, IS INSISTENCE FMG LEND CREDIBILITY ITS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE BY FIELDING SERIOUS DELEGATION COMPETENT TO SPEAK FOR GON TUBRY

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REF: FERGUSON-DAVIDSON TELCON

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAVIDSON

1. Davidson, U/CF, this morning was called on by Mr. I. J. Sagay, First Secretary of Nigerian Embassy, who requested general discussion on relief question and latest information on progress Cross River ~~XXXXX~~ talks.

2. Sagay stated "FMG serious about talks if Biafrans are."

Davidson advised Sagay as requested Reftelcon that Biafra participates in discussion in serious forthright manner with its complete full-time delegation. FMG, however, at disadvantage x since members of its delegation must also engage in their regular Geneva duties, thereby limiting their attention and work on Cross River talks to part-time participation. Sagay accepted advice that FMG may find x to its advantage eitherx to quickly send a representative from Lagos who has technical background for

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discussion of Cross River modalities or to send a diplomat who could relieve delegation of their regular Geneva duties.

3. Sagay stated that Lagos authorized its Geneva representatives to handle talks because it felt level of Biafran delegation was not high enough to warrant dispatching representatives from Lagos. "Cookey may be a Cabinet representative in Biafra, but he was just a third-level chap in ~~the~~ Federal Government." He stated, however, concern that FMG delegation be numerically and technically strong ~~enough~~ enough to meet requirements. He indicated FMG is very interested that talks succeed, especially "if Biafrans are serious and not just in Geneva to waste time." He stated he would urge that above message be reported to Lagos.

4. Sagay indicated it is his government's feelings that ICRC continues to ~~not~~ renege on statements made in and to Lagos. In reply to question, however, Sagay stated he is optimistic on possibility of daylight flights, but major responsibility rests

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FORM 8-65 DS-322B

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Page 3

ACTION: USMission ~~XXXXXX~~ GENEVA

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upon ICRC. Sagay promised to furnish Davidson with examples of items on which ICRC has reneged.

5. COMMENT: Sagay ~~xxx~~ seemed genuinely concerned about talks and FMG delegation in Geneva and asked advice on how delegation could make best possible showing.

END

ROGERS

8/27/69

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S/S-O	11	Date	27 August 69

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Origin

ACTION: USMission GENEVA

Priority

27 AUG 69 16 17z

Info:

STATE

LIMDIS

For Ferguson

Thomas departing New York with children today and
will proceed directly to your residence.

END

ROGERS

969771

①

Drafted by:

U/CF: RADavidson 8/27/69 *RD*

Tel. Ext.

23256

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: U/CF: RADavidson 8/27/69 *RD*

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48 B

27 AUG 69 20 072

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INFO: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

~~XXXX~~ LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief: Daylight Flights

1. In interest preventing premature withdrawal ICRC from relief airlift operation we considering having Ambassador Ferguson seek Naville commitment have ICRC postpone ~~ICRC~~ withdrawal at August 28 meeting. If Naville agrees, Ferguson would recess Cross River talks and fly to Lagos, ostensibly to discuss stalled Cross River talks, but actually to try persuade FMG to accept some variant ICRC emergency daylight flight proposal.
2. Would appreciate Embassy's immediate comment to Ferguson in possibility Geneva and Department as to ~~possibility~~ top level appointments as early as Friday, August 29th and view on ~~prospects~~ prospects useful discussions.

144930

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBSherry:nb	DRAFTING DATE 8/27/69	TEL. EXT. 29311	APPROVED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck
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Pol 27-9 Biafra-
Department of State ^{Nigeria} **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ROME 05419 271735Z

47

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, DODE 00, JPN 04, INR 07, L 03, NSA 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, CIA 04, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 157 W
035357

R 271655Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2079
INFO US MISSION GENEVA 0904
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USUN NEWYORK 0561

UNCLAS ROME 5419

SUBJ: BIAFRA

ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY AUGUST 25 ISSUED OFFICIAL STATEMENT
URGING BOTH SIDES IN NIGERIAN CONFLICT PERMIT RESUMPTION RELIEF
FLIGHTS. STATEMENT SAID THAT GOI, NOTING SUSPENSION OF
HUMANITARIAN DELIVERIES TO VICTIMS OF WHAT UNSYG HAD CALLED
A PROBLEM FOR ALL COUNTRIES, EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN AT NEW
OUTBREAK OF FAMINE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. GOI THEREFORE
APPEALED TO BOTH PARTIES TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND AUTHORIZE
RELIEF FLIGHTS OF FOOD AND MEDICINE TO CIVILIANS.
STABLER

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0814

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Pch 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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CONFIDENTIAL 060

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42
ACTION AF 18

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DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01,
PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28,

RSR 01, 145 W

035885

O 271835Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6565
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 12963

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: NAVILLE-SCHUMANN MEETING AUGUST 27

REF: PARIS 12846

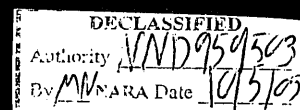
1. IN FOLLOW-UP CALL, CARRAUD (QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA) PROVIDED PARTIAL FILL-IN ON NAVILLE-SCHUMANN MEETING TODAY. CARRAUD SAID NAVILLE DID NOT COME TO PARIS TO NEGOTIATE IN ANY SENSE, BUT MERELY TO BRING FRENCH UP TO DATE ON CURRENT SITUATION VIS-A-VIS ICRC PROVOUAL FOR EMERGENCY AIRLIFT.

2. NAVILLE REPORTEDLY OPENED HIS PRESENTATION BY EXPRESSING HIS GROWING PESSIMISM OVER PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSFUL RESUMPTION ICRC OPERATIONS. HE FELT BOTH SIDES LOOKED UPON ICRC PROPOSALS PRIMARILY IN TERMS OF POSSIBLE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES. IN SEEKING POLITICAL EXPLOITATION OF THESE PROPOSALS THEY HAD REFUSED ONE AFTER THE OTHER. CONSEQUENTLY, HE WAS LOSING CONFIDENCE IN POSSIBILITY OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE CURRENT ROUND.

3. NAVILLE THEN EVIDENTLY WENT OVER VARIOUS PROPOSALS WHICH HAD BEEN PUT FORTH, STRESSING HOPES RAISED BY CURRENT

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0815



PARIS-12963
8-27-69



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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 12963 271905Z

PLAN FOR EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS--SIX FLIGHTS DAILY OVER A PERIOD OF THREE WEEKS, WITH NO FMG CONTROL OF AIRCRAFT OR CARGOES AT THE POINT OF DEPARTURE IN COTONOU BUT WITH AN FMG RIGHT TO CALL DOWN RANDOM AIRCRAFT TO POINTS IN FEDERAL TERRITORY FOR INSPECTION.

4. NAVILLE SAID THAT HIS ASSOCIATES WERE MEETING TODAY IN GENEVA WITH BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES. HE HAD APPARENTLY HEARD, THOUGH IT WAS NOT CLEAR FROM CARRAUD WHAT SOURCE HAD BEEN, THAT BIAFRANS WOULD REFUSE LANDING AT ULI TO ANY AIRCRAFT WHICH TOUCHED DOWN ANYWHERE IN FMG TERRITORY.

5. EMBOFF ASKED CARRAUD WHETHER NAVILLE HAD PUT FORWARD ANY REQUEST FOR FRENCH HELP EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH IVORY COAST, IN PERSUADING BIAFRANS TO AGREE TO EMERGENCY AIRLIFT PROPOSALS IF FMG APPROVAL IN FACT RECEIVED. CARRAUD SAID NO SPECIFIC REQUEST ALONG LINES WAS MADE, BUT CLEARLY IT WAS "IN THE AIR." HE RECALLED THAT FRENCH HAD RESPONDED TO AMBASSADOR FERGOUSON'S REQUEST TO HELP GET BPAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES TO GENEVA FOR INITIAL MEETINGS, AND FELT THAT SIMILAR REQUEST FROM NAVILLE (OR, BY IMPLICATION, FROM US) TO HELP OBTAIN BIAFRAN APPROVAL FOR EMERGENCY AIRLIFT COULD NOT BE RULED OUT.

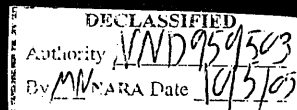
6. CARRAUD SAID NAVILLE'S DISCOURAGEMENT WAS CLEARLY RELATED TO GROWING TIME PRESSURES, WITH ICRC COMMITTEE MEETING TOMORROW MORNING AND NO REPLY YET FROM LWGMU. EMBOFF PASSED ON TO CARRAUD LATEST INFORMATION FROM EMBASSY LAGOS THAT INDIVIDUAL FMG MEMBERS SEEMED WELL DISPOSED TO ICRC PROPOSAL, THOUGH IT WAS STILL UNCERTAIN WHETHER FORMAL APPROVAL WOULD BE FORTHCOMING TODAY. CARRAUD REPORTED NAVILLE PLANS TO LEAVE NEXT WEDNESDAY FOR ISTANBUL, WHERE HE FELT HE COULD NOT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE ASK FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ICRC EFFORT UNLESS HE HAD SOME SUCCESS TO SHOW BY THAT TIME IN GETTING AIRLIFT UNDERWAY AGAIN.

7. COMMENT: CARRAUD, WHO WAS NOTETAKER AT NAVILLE-SCHUMANN MEETING, WAS JUST BEGINNING WORK ON MEMCON AND PROVIDED ABOVE IMPRESSIONS AND HIGHLIGHTS FROM ROUGH NOTES. FURTHER DETAILS MAY BE OBTAINABLE IN DAY OR TWO ON SPECIFIC POINTS IF REQUIRED.

GP-3.
SHRIVER

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0816



Rel 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
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SECRET 857

PAGE 01 STATE 144617

83
ORIGIN SS 10

INFO OCT 01 1961 R

6663!
DRAFTED BY AF/SN BASTOKES
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030701

P 270113Z AUG 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

SECRET STATE 144617

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM GENEVA AUG 260 QTE:

GENEVA 3034

EXDIS

SUBJ: CROSS RIVER TALKS

1. BRADLEY (AID FOOD FOR PEACE OFFICER) SURVEY OF AUGUST 2 SHOWED 776 TONS OF WORM INFESTED STOCKFISH STORED SANTA ISABEL. TO SALVAGE, BRADLEY ESTIMATED NEED 0 FUMIGATE OR USE WITHIN 30 DAYS. CHECK WITH AMMANN REVEALED ICRC HOLDING STOCKS, ATTEMPTING TO FUMIGATE BUT NO EQUIPMENT YET AVAILABLE.

2. AS ADDITIONAL FALL-BACK OPTION (ADDITIONAL TO CARTEL ANNEX A PROPOSAL) WE ARE CONSIDERING PROPOSAL FOR SPECIAL LSM VOYAGE TO MOVE STOCKFISH UP CROSS RIVER. WOULD ADVOCATE UNLOADING HALF CARGO PREFERABLY AT ITU ON CROSS RIVER ROUTE, FOR DISTRIBUTION BY FMG SIDE OBY STATE REHABILITATION COMMISSION. VESSEL WOULD THEN BE SUFFICIENTLY LIGHTENED TO NAVIGATE SAFELY UP CROSS RIVER TO DISCHARGE REMAINDER OPPOSITE IKOT OKPORA.

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07883: 311347Z

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ACTION SS: 30

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O 311230Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8727

S E C R E T LAGOS 7883

DEPT PLEASE PASS GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

EXDIS

SUBJ: JCA C-970 S

REF: LAGOS 74140, 74340, 75240 AND 78821
STATE 138500, 144547, 147489

1. WE GREATLY CONCERNED NOT ONLY BY DANGER OF LEAK OF PROSPECTIVE DELIVERIES DURING NEXT FEW CRITICAL DAYS OF C-97'S BUT OVER IMPLICATION IN STATE 147489 THAT INTENTION IS TO MAKE THESE DELIVERIES IN ANY EVENT. OUR UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN THAT DEPT CONTEMPLATED MAKING C-97'S GIVEN TO ICRC AVAILABLE JCA IF AND ONLY IF ICRC FAILED REACH AGREEMENT WITH FMG AND THUS HAS NO FURTHER USE FOR C-97'S (STATE 144574).

2. WE HAVE USED AS TAKING POINT--AND EFFECTIVELY WE BELIEVE--CONCEPT THAT AGREEMENT BETWEEN FMG AND ICRC WILL ERODE BASIS FOR NIGHT AIRLIFT AND PUT PRESSURES ON JCA AND CARITAS TO JOIN UNDER ICRC TYPE ARRANGEMENT. WHOLE HISTORY OF C-97 MATTER IS AN EXTREMELY SORE POINT WITH FMG WHO FEEL THAT WE RENEGED ON CLEAR PROMISES GIVEN TM THEM. ALSO THERE WAS NOTHING IN OUR ORIGINAL STATEMENT TO FMG ON SUPPLY C-97'S WHICH INDICATED THIS ONGOING PROGRAM (SEPT 292125, DEC 25, 1968). IMPRESSION GAINED BY FMG AT ANY RATE WAS THAT IT ONE-SHOT OPERATION.

3. AS REPORTED OUR 7414 FMG EXTREMELY DISTURBED ON HEARING
OF C-97 ENGINES WHICH CONSIGNED TO CHURCH GROUP AND LANDED.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07883 311347Z

IN MONROVIA. WE CAN SAFELY PREDICT THAT TO MAKE THESE C-97'S AVAILABLE FOR WHAT DEPT SUGGESTS WE DESCRIBE TO GOWON (STATE 147444) AS QTE ILLEGAL RELIEF PROGRAM ENDQTE WILL CREATE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE TAKING ACTION OPPOSITE TO POINTS WE MAKE TO FMG. WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT HAVING SECURED FMG AGREEMENT WITH ICRC ON EMERGENCY THREE WEEK PROPOSAL DELICACY OF SITUATION HAS ENDED. ONCE EMERGENCY FLIGHTS BEGIN THERE POSSIBILITY PROLONGING AND BROADENING DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT TO INCLUDE CHURCH GROUPS ON SIMILAR--PERHAPS EVEN MORE RELAXED--TERMS. BUT SUCCESS OF THIS WILL DEPEND TO CONSIDERABLE DEGREE ON EVIDENCE FROM CHURCH GROUPS THAT THEY TOO INTERESTED IN QTE LEGALIZING ENDQTE THEIR RELIEF OPERATION. IF WE PROVIDE C-97'S EVEN UNDER RUBRIC REPLACEMENT WE WILL IN EYES FMG NOT ONLY BE CONDONING BUT SUPPORTING ILLEGAL AIRLIFT.

4. FOR ABOVE REASONS I WOULD APPRECIATE CLARIFICATION OUR INTENTIONS ON C-97'S BEFORE MAKING APPROACH TO GOWON. TO TAKE THIS APPROACH AS THINGS STAND IT SEEMS TO ME WE ARE OPENING OURSELVES UP TO CHARGES OF DECEPTION BY FMG WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OFR OUR LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIPS. GP-3 OLSON
BT

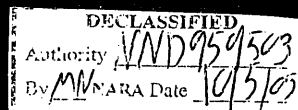
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07882 311129Z

12
ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CCO 00,/031 W

059696

0 311050Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8726

S E C R E T LAGOS 7882

EXDIS:

S/S PASS IMMEDIATE INFO GENEVA LONDON PARIS

FOR UNDER SECRETARY

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: ICRC DAYFLIGHT PROPOSAL

REF: A. STATE 147444 AND B. 147492.

1. STATE 147444 REACHED US SEVERAL HOURS AFTER APOLLO
SHOWING WHICH TOOK PLACE 1730 LOCAL. HOWEVER, THERE
QUITE LARGE GATHERING AND THOUGH UK HICOMER AND I
ATTEMPTED HAVE SHORT CHAT WITH GOWON ON SUBJECT,
NOTHING BEYOND EXCHANGE PLEASANTRIES POSSIBLE.

2. REPORTS ON DISCUSSIONS ICRC PROPOSAL WHICH TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY MORNING AND WELL INTO THE AFTERNOON ARE ENCOURAGING. WHILE WE UNABLE ELICIT DETAILS, EDDIE ENAHORO WHO FULLY UNDERSTANDS IMPORTANCE URGENT AND FAVORABLE FMG ACTION, TOLD ECON COUNSELOR THAT MEETING OF QTE EXPERTS ENDQTE WENT VERY WELL AND QTE NOW REMAINED TO BE SEEN WHAT OTHERS DO WITH INQTE EXPERTS ENDQTE RECOMMENDATION. ENDQTE HE SEEMED, HOWEVER, OPTIMISTIC. QTE EXPERTS, ENDQTE INCLUDED OMO BARE AND CHIEF ENAHORO AND TOGETHER WITH MIN EXTAFF, THEY SHOULD PACK CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT ON THIS ISSUE.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07882 311129Z

3. UK HICOMER HAS BEEN HESITANT TO PRESS FURTHER ON HIS REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON SINCE THINGS SEEM TO BE GOING WELL. AS FAR AS CONVEYING PRESIDENT'S CONCERN TO GOWON, POSSIBILITY OF DOING SO INFORMALLY HAS PASSED. MY THOUGHT HAD BEEN TO ASK EXTAFF TO PASS INFORMALLY BUT URGENTLY PERSONAL NOTE FROM ME TO GOWON CONTAINING PRESIDENT'S VIEWS. SINCE RECEIPT REF B, AND IMPLICATIONS, THEREOF I HESITATE TO PASS MESSAGE WITHOUT FURTHER INSTRUCTION FOR REASONS SET FORTH IN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING SEPTTEL.

GP-3.
OLSON
BT

NNN

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U ✓ 5		ARA	
J ✓ 6		EA	
D ✓ 7		EUR ✓	
C ✓ 10		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8729

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET LAGOS 7885

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF, DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: A. STATE 147492; B. STATE 147444; C. LAGOS 7863;
D. LAGOS 7882; E. LAGOS 7883.

1. HAVE JUST COMPLETED DISCUSSION PRESENT STATE OF PLAY WITH UK HICOMER. AFTER SPEAKING WITH BABA GANA SAME SUBJECT LAST NIGHT, HE HAD JUST SPOKEN TO ENAHORO, DEP PERMSEC MIN EXTAFF, TO PURSUE REQUEST FOR EARLIEST APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON. ENAHORO VOLUNTEERED FACT THAT HEADS OF ALL MINISTRIES CONCERNED I.E. DEFENSE, LABOR, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND REHABILITATION COMMISSION SOLIDLY BEHIND ACCEPTANCE ICRC PROPOSAL AND THAT GOWON HIMSELF IN FAVOR. ENAHORO SAID EXCELLENT BRIEF PREPARED BY HICOMER (LAGOS 7863) WITH ARGUMENTATION FOR ACCEPTANCE ICRC PROPOSAL HAD BEEN SEEN AT HIGHEST LEVELS, INCLUDING GOWON. ENAHORO SEEMED FEEL ACCEPTANCE WOULD GO THROUGH AND SAID HIS BROTHER TONY CONFERRING WITH GOWON TODAY WITH POSSIBILITY GOWON'S AUTHORIZING ACCEPTANCE WITHOUT CALLING MONDAY EXCO MEETING. IF NECESSARY, HOWEVER, MEETING WILL BE CALLED. ENAHORO EMPHATICALLY BELIEVED BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IF HICOMER WERE TO SEE GOWON AT THIS STAGE. TO DO SO WOULD SUBJECT GOWON TO CRITICISM BY THOSE OPPOSED TO ICRC PLAN THAT GOWON YIELDING TO BRITISH PRESSURE. HE DID ASSURE HICOMER THAT IF THERE WERE ANY SIGNS OF SLIPPAGE HE WOULD SEE TO IT THAT HICOMER HAD OPPORTUNITY TO SEE GOWON TO DEFEND PROPOSAL.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07885 311457Z

2. ON BASIS ABOVE, HICOMER INFORMING LONDON THAT HE DOES NOT RPT NOT PLAN MAKE REPRESENTATIONS TO GOWON FOR MOMENT. I BELIEVE HE IS EXACTLY RIGHT AND IN VIEW CURRENT STATE OF PLAY THINK IT WOULD ALSO BE MOST UNWISE FOR ME TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS. GP-3.
OLSON
BT

NNN
NOTE: EXDIS: CAPTION ADDED PER MR. DOSZ, S/S-O. 8/31/69

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SECRETARIAT		Distribution by	Ex Secy
S/S	8-9	Classification SECRET	
S/S-Screener	28-30	Post LAGOS	Dpty
S/S-S-CMS	31	Serial No. 7885	
S/S-O	11	Date August 31, 1969	Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S ✓ 21	✓	AF ✓✓ (a) 16, 17	
U ✓ 5	✓	ARA	
J ✓ 6	✓	EA	
D ✓ 7	✓	EUR ✓ 18	
C ✓ 10	✓	NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC ✓✓ 12, 13	✓	White House ✓✓ 2, 3	
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓ (a) 14	✓	Defense ✓ 26 per Mr. Brown 9/2/69	
		State Rep ✓ 27 per Mr. Brown 9/2/69	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA ✓ 19	
E		ACDA	
H		AID	
INR ✓ 15	✓	AID/VN	
IO		USIA	
L		NSA	
O		Treasury	
P			
		OTHER	
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0827

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Authority VND 954/503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 788

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07881 311145Z

42
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01 IO 13 SSO 00 NSCE 00 CCO 00 UCF 05 JPM 04 NSC 10 SS 20

RSC 01 RSR 01 / 073 W

059711

O 311030Z AUG 69 ZFF GENEVA
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8725
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7881

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF DAY FLIGHTS

BIGNAMI (ICRC) REQUEST FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE DELIVERED NAVILLE
(ICRC) SOONEST. TEXT CAN BE TELEPHONED NAVILLE ON HIS PRIVATE
PHONE 47-05-6 OR TO FREYMOND ON 761195. APPRECIATE ACK-
NOWLEDGMENT DELIVERY.

BEGIN TEXT: "SAMEDI MATIN SEANCE NIVEAU MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION
AFFAIRE RELIEF. TRES PROBABLEMENT AVIS PARTAGES. PRESENTE
SAMEDR 17.00 SUR REQUETE ENAHORO NOUVEL AIDE MEMOIRE SESUMANT
EXPOSES FAITS AU MEA ET A REHAB DES MON ARRIVE ET POSITION
COMITE. CHEF GOUVERNMENT DOIT DECIDER CONVOCATION EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL POUR LUNDI MATIN ET DE TOUTE FACON, SELON ENAHORO,
UN COMMUNIQUE OFFICIEL INDICHERA LUNDI APRES-MIDI OU SOIR
POSITION DEFINITIVE GOUVERNMENT.
EN DISCUTANT, ENAHORO DIT QUE FMG NE POURRAIT JAMIS ACCEP-
TER ADJONCTIONS APPORTEES PAR SECESSIONNISTES ART. 2.7. LUI
AI EXPLIQUE QU'ON REVIENT DE LOIN DANS DISCUSSIONS ET QU'ON
DOIT ADMETTRE RESERVES SECURITE DE LA PART DES ADVERSAIRES.
L'ON CRAINT ICI SERIEUSEMENT OPINION PUBLIQUE COMME L'ON
CONSIDERE QUE NOS SUGGESTIONS, SI ACCEPTEES, REPRESENTENT
RAIENT SERIEUX CHANGEMENTS POLITIQUE CONTROLE DES VOLS,
SURTOUT APRES RETENTISSANTES DECLARATIONS FAITES EN SON
TEMPS PAR COMMISSAIRE INFORMATION.
AI DU INSISTER, SUITE CERTAINES REACTIONS INTERLOCUTEUR,
POUR QU'EMERGENCY, APRES 3 SEMAINES, SE TRANSFORME EN ACTION
PERMANENTE, SELON ESPIRIT DE TOUTS NOR POURPARLERS. IL EST
TRES PROBABLE, QUE NOS INTERLOCUTEURS S'INTERROGENT SUR LA

CONFIDENTIAL

23

0828

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07881 311145Z

VALEUR DE LA FORMULE DANS LE TEMPS, APRES ECLAT EVENTUEL
GOODWILL ET MAGNIMITE.

JE CONFIRME QUE J'AI PROPOSE DEUX SOLUTIONS: DAYLIGHT
FLIGHTS EMERGENCY 3 SEMAINES, OU COMME SECOND-BEST VOLS DE
NUIT PENDANT QUELQUES JOURS SELON PROGRAMME 4/5 AOUT, ET
APRES DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, LE TOUT POUR 3 SEMAINES EN ATTENDANT
DE PERFECTIONNER SI NECESSAIRE LES DETAILS LE PLUS RAPIDEMENT
POSSIBLE. DEPART DE L'ACTION MARDI 2.
POUR EVITER TROP DE RISQUES DE REVIREMENT ET COMME TOUT
TIENT A UN FIL, ESPERE QUE VOUS SAUREZ CONVAINCRE SECESSION-
NISTES DE NE PAS FAIRE CROULER TOUTE L'OPERATION PAR DES
REFUS DJ D'ATTERRISSAGE NOTIVES UNIQUEMENT PAR DES RAISONS DE
PRESTIGE.

PRIERE INSISTER AUPRES HUG SE TENIR PRET ET ETUDIER PRO-
GRAMME DEPART IMMEDIATEMENT SUITE IMPOSSIBILITE UTILISER
MEYNER QUI POUR STUPIDE INCIDENT EST RETENU PAR POLICE MILITAIRE
ICI.

VOUS COMMUNIQUERAI DECLARATION GOUVERNEMENT AVEC MES RECOM-
MANDATIONS AINSI QUE REACTIONS AMIS.

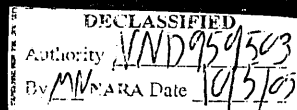
IL SERAIT DRAMATIQUE DE ROMPRE CHANCES REUSSITE NEGOCIATIONS
POUR 24 HEURES ET JE VOUS DEMANDE DONC DE RETARDER DE QUEL-
QUE TEMPS VOS DECISIONS, SI ON N'A PAS LA CERITUDE QUE CONTACT AVEC
VOUS EST PARFAIT AVANT DECISION FINALE. SUIS
TOURJOURS ATTENTE RESPONSE MES CABLES DE VENDREDI EU AGARD
SURTOUT INTERPRETATION CORRECTE COMMUNICATION TELEPHONI-
QUE FREYMOND JEUDI SOIR". END TEXT
OLSON:
BT

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

23

0829



59

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Pol 27-9 Briefing Nigeria
U/CF
Department of State
TELEGRAM

SECRET 830

PAGE 01 STATE 147531

45
ORIGIN SS: 10

INFO OCT 01, 1971 R

66603:
DRAFTED BY: S/S:WLLOYD
APPROVED BY: S/S - MR.LLOYD

R 311517Z AUG 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET STATE 147531

EXDIS:

FOR: AMBASSADOR FERGUSON:

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE AUG 31 FROM LAGOS RPTD YOU

QUOTE:

S E C R E T LAGOS 7883

DEPT PLEASE PASS GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

EXDIS:

SUBJ: JCA C-970S

REF: LAGOS: 74140, 74340, 75240, AND 78821
STATE: 138500, 144547, 147489

1. WE GREATLY CONCERNED NOT ONLY BY DANGER OF LEAK OF PROSPECTIVE DELIVERIES DURING NEXT FEW CRITICAL DAYS OF C-97'S BUT OVER IMPLICATION IN STATE 147489 THAT INTENTION IS TO MAKE THESE DELIVERIES IN ANY EVENT. OUR UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN THAT DEPT CONTEMPLATED MAKING C-97'S GIVEN TO ICRC AVAILABLE JCA IF AND ONLY IF ICRC FAILED REACH AGREEMENT WITH FMG AND THUS HAS NO FURTHER USE FOR C-97'S (STATE 144574).

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0830

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

EXDIS
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EXDISDepartment of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 147531

2. WE HAVE USED AS TAKING POINT--AND EFFECTIVELY WE BELIEVE--CONCEPT THAT AGREEMENT BETWEEN FMG AND ICRC WILL ERODE BASIS FOR NIGHT AIRLIFT AND PUT PRESSURES ON JCA AND CARITAS TO JOIN UNDER ICRC TYPE ARRANGEMENT. WHOLE HISTORY OF C-97 MATTER IS AN EXTREMELY SORE POINT WITH FMG WHO FEEL THAT WE RENEGED ON CLEAR PROMISES GIVEN THEM. ALSO THERE WAS NOTHING IN OUR ORIGINAL STATEMENT TO FMG ON SUPPLY C-97'S WHICH INDICATED THIS ONGOING PROGRAM (SEPT 29-DEC 25, 1968). IMPRESSION GAINED BY FMG AT ANY RATE WAS THAT IT ONE-SHOT OPERATION.

3. AS REPORTED OUR 7414 FMG EXTREMELY DISTURBED ON HEARING OF C-97 ENGINES WHICH CONSIGNED TO CHURCH GROUP AND LANDED IN MONROVIA. WE CAN SAFELY PREDICT THAT TO MAKE THESE C-97'S AVAILABLE FOR WHAT DEPT SUGGESTS WE DESCRIBE TO GOWON (STATE 147444) AS QTE ILLEGAL RELIEF PROGRAM ENDQTE WILL CREATE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE TAKING ACTION OPPOSITE TO POINTS WE MAKE TO FMG. WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT HAVING SECURED FMG AGREEMENT WITH ICRC ON EMERGENCY THREE WEEK PROPOSAL DELICACY OF SITUATION HAS ENDED. ONCE EMERGENCY FLIGHTS BEGIN THERE POSSIBILITY PROLONGING AND BROADENING DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT TO INCLUDE CHURCH GROUPS ON SIMILAR--PERHAPS EVEN MORE RELAXED--TERMS. BUT SUCCESS OF THIS WILL DEPEND TO CONSIDERABLE DEGREE ON EVIDENCE FROM CHURCH GROUPS THAT THEY TOO INTERESTED IN QTE LEGALIZING ENDQTE THEIR RELIEF OPERATION. IF WE PROVIDE C-97'S EVEN UNDER RUBRIC REPLACEMENT WE WILL IN EYES FMG NOT ONLY BE CONDONING BUT SUPPORTING ILLEGAL AIRLIFT.

4. FOR ABOVE REASONS I WOULD APPRECIATE CLARIFICATION OUR INTENTIONS ON C-97'S BEFORE MAKING APPROACH TO GOWON. TO TAKE THIS APPROACH AS THINGS STAND IT SEEMS TO ME WE ARE OPENING OURSELVES UP TO CHARGES OF DECEPTION BY FMG WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF OUR LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIPS. GFW3
OLSON
UNQUOTE
ROGERS

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59

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET/EXDIS

Classification

47521

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Origin

ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS

IMMEDIATE

31 Aug 69 1304z

Info:

STATE

EXDIS

(OC/T: Please ~~xxx~~ repeat LAGOS 7882 EXDIS August 31,
TO THE ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

GP-1

END

ROGERS

Drafted by:

S/S-O: R.D. Blackwill ^{yl}

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

XXXXX

classification approved by:

S/S-O: L. Kilday. ^{yl}

Clearances:

21530

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0832

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Authority VIND 954503
By MW/ARA Date 10/5/05



PAGE 01 STATE 147521

45
ORIGIN SS 10

INFO OCT 01 1961 R

66603.

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:R D BLACKWELL
APPROVED BY: S/S-O:L KILDAY

O 311304Z AUG 69 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

059875

S E C R E T STATE 147521

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE AUG 31 FROM LAGOS RPTD YOU

QUOTE

S E C R E T LAGOS 7882

EXDIS

S/S. PASS IMMEDIATE INFO GENEVA LONDON PARIS

FOR UNDER SECRETARY:

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: ICRC DAYFLIGHT PROPOSAL

REF: A. STATE 147444 AND B. 147492.

16 STATE 147444 REACHED US SEVERAL HOURS AFTER APOLLO
SHOWING WHICH TOOK PLACE 1730 LOCAL. HOWEVER, THERE
QUITE LARGE GATHERING AND THOUGH UK HICOMER AND I
ATTEMPTED HAVE SHORT CHAT WITH GOWON ON SUBJECT,
NOTHING BEYOND EXCHANGE PLEASANTRIES POSSIBLE.

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0833

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By MM NARA Date 10/3/05

EXDIS
EXDIS
EXDIS
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EXDIS



Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 147521

2. REPORTS ON DISCUSSIONS ICRC PROPOSAL WHICH TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY MORNING AND WELL INTO THE AFTERNOON ARE ENCOURAGING. WHILE WE UNABLE ELICIT DETAILS, EDDIE ENAHORO WHO FULLY UNDERSTANDS IMPORTANCE URGENT AND FAVORABLE FMG ACTION, TOLD ECON COUNSELOR THAT MEETING OF QTE EXPERTS ENDQTE WENT VERY WELL AND QTE NOW REMAINED TO BE SEEN WHAT OTHERS DO WITH INQTE EXPERTS ENDINQTE RECOMMENDATION. ENDQTE HE SEEMED, HOWEVER, OPTIMISTIC. QTE EXPERTS, ENDQTE INCLUDED OMO BARE AND CHIEF ENAHORO AND TOGETHER WITH MIN EXTAFF, THEY SHOULD PACK CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT ON THIS ISSUE.

3. UK HICOMER HAS BEEN HESITANT TO PRESS FURTHER ON HIS REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON SINCE THINGS SEEM TO BE GOING WELL. AS FAR AS CONVEYING PRESIDENT'S CONCERN TO GOWON, POSSIBILITY OF DOING SO INFORMALLY HAS PASSED. MY THOUGHT HAD BEEN TO ASK EXTAFF TO PASS INFORMALLY BUT URGENTLY PERSONAL NOTE FROM ME TO GOWON CONTAINING PRESIDENT'S VIEWS. SINCE RECEIPT REF B, AND IMPLICATIONS, THEREOF I HESITATE TO PASS MESSAGE WITHOUT FURTHER INSTRUCTION FOR REASONS SET FORTH IN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING SEPTTEL.

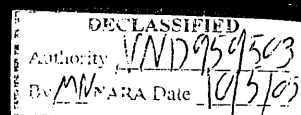
GP-3.
OLSON
UNQUOTE GP-1.
ROGERS

SECRET

23

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0834



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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 892

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03124 010023Z

80
ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, 031 W

060894

O 312135Z AUG 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2779

SECRET GENEVA 3124

EXDIS:

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (CORRECTION LINE TWO OF TEXT)

DEPT PASS LAGOS.

(REPLY 0900 SEPT 1 TO PARIS/GENEVA).

REF. LAGOS 7881. — *Pol 27-9 Biafra*

SUBJECT NIGERIAN RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS:

1. WE READ TEXT TO NAVILLE OVER PHONE. HE SOUNDED VERY DIS-
COURAGED (RE ENAHORO STATEMENT PARA 2) AND STATED FLATLY
NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE RENEGOTIATE AGREEMENT WITH BIAFRANS AS
THIS WOULD REQUIRE ANOTHER FOUR DAYS. NAVILLE FELT FMG HAIR-
SPLITTING AND LOOKING FOR REASONS TO TURN DOWN PROPOSAL.
WE POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD NEVER BEEN TOLD BY ICRC OF BIAFRAN
AMENDMENT (OF COURSE WE NOTE LAGOS 7863) AND FOUND IT
DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND IT SINCE PROPOSAL DOES NOT REPEAT
NOT IMPOSE OBLIGATION ON BIAFRANS TO ACCEPT PLANES. AFTER
CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION NAVILLE MENTIONED THAT ANCILLARY
CLAUSE NEGOTIATED BY FREYMOND AND THAT HE (NAVILLE) DOES NOT
KNOW PRECISE WORDING.
TUBBY

NOTE: NOT PASSED LAGOS BY OC/T.

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S/S-O	<u>11</u>	Date	8-31-69 ^{ED}

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D	<u>7</u>	EUR	<u>19</u>
C	<u>10</u>	NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC	<u>12-13</u>	White House	<u>2/3</u>
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF	<u>14-15</u>	Defense	<u>20</u>
		State Rep	<u>21</u>
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA	<u>22</u>
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S/S-O	11	Date	8-31-69

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	✓ 4	AF	✓✓ (a) 17-18
U	✓ 5	ARA	
J	✓ 6	EA	
D	✓ 7	EUR	✓ 27
C	✓ 10	NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC	✓ 12-13	White House	✓✓ 2/3
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF	✓✓ 14-15	Defense	✓ 19
		State Rep	✓ 20
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA	✓ 21
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By *MV NARA* Date *10/5/05*

06

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
147550

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

31 AUG 69 21 53
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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info

INFO: USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

STATE

(A) (B)
REF: /Lagos 7885/ State 1474447

Dept concurs par 2 reftel A. Representations should be made
only
along lines ref B if and when you feel such step could be
helpful.

GP-4

END

ROGERS

1

Drafted by:

U/CF:RDavidson:ls

Clearances:

8/31/69

Tel. Ext.
29476

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

AF - DDNewsom

AF/SN - GSherry

SECRET

Classification

FORM
8-65 DS-322

0838

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

WP

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

147549

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Classification

31 AUG 69 21 53
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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
Info: INFO: USMISSION GENEVA

STATE

REF: A. State 147459 B. Lagos 8727

~~As~~ Your concerns re C-97s understood. As you will see from
1. ~~No decision on C-97 will be made before September 2 when~~
Ref A., JCA has agreed take no action pending further discussion

~~As per Secretary Newsom will call Bishop Swansford~~
between Newsom and Bishop Swansford Sept. 2.
Results ICRC-FMG discussions and possible

2. / Phasing of J.C.A. airlift into ICRC daylight flight

agreement will be considered in proposal for release of two

additional planes. Dept. noted with interest desire by

Caritas to cooperate in daylight flights ~~Ref~~ (Lagos 7863).

we assume FMG

If JCA joins legalized air lift should not object to supply

of additional aircraft.

3. ~~Entire proposal will be presented to you for comment~~

~~prior to release of aircraft~~ We assure you we will agree to
no release by JCA in aircraft without further word to Lagos.

GP-4

END

ROGERS

Drafted by U/CF:RDavidson:ls

29476

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

AF - DDNewsom

Clearances: 8/31/69

AF/SN - GSherry

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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POB 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 769

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03122 311055Z

16
ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 012CCO 002SSO 002NSCE 002/031 W

0311050Z AUG 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2777

SECRET GENEVA 3122

EXDIS

DELIVER 9:00 AM.

FOR UAC FROM FERGUSON.

SUBJECT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

IN EVENT FAVORABLE FMG RESPONSE WILL NEED DAVIDSON GENEVA
ASAP RE AIRCRAFT IDENTIFICATION SYSTEM.
CUBBY

ACTION COPY

059621

*Geneva 3/22
8/31/69
31*

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S/S-0	11	Date 8/31/69	Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
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U ✓ 5		ARA	
J ✓ 6		EA	
D ✓ 7		EUR	
C ✓ 10		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC ✓✓ 12/13		White House ✓✓	
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓ 14		Defense ✓	18
		State Rep ✓	1/
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA ✓	20
E		ACDA	
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 768

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03121 311051Z

15
ACTION SS 30

ACTION COPY

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /031 W

059614

O 311045Z AUG 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2776

SECRET GENEVA 3121

EXDIS

DEPT PASS LAGOS. DELIVER 9:00AM.

SUBJECT: JCA C-97S.

REFERENCE STATE 147489.

1. LIGHT PARA 2 REFTL, URGE DEPT CONSIDER DELIVERY PLAN
NEW C-97S TO TEL AVIV. JCA DRAW NEW CRAFT AS OLD CRAFT
ARRIVE TEL AVIV FOR 250 HR. CHECK, FLYING OUT NEW CRAFT ON
RETURN LEG, THUS ALWAYS FOUR OPERATING SAO TOME. (#)

2. DEWEY NOW IN TEL AVIV ON TECHNICAL CHECK OUT BASE, TURN
AROUND TIME, ETC.
TUBBY

NOTE: NOT PASSED LAGOS BY OCT.
(#) AS RECEIVED.

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PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S ✓ 4		AF ✓✓	10/7
U ✓ 5		ARA	
J ✓ 6		EA	
D ✓ 7		EUR ✓	16
C ✓ 10		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC ✓✓ 12/3		White House ✓✓	2/2
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓ 14		Defense	
		State Rep	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA ✓	19
E		ACDA	
H		AID	
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147522

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(OC/T: Please repeat GENEVA 3121 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ EXDIS

August 31, to the above addressee.)

END

GP-1

ROGERS

(1)

Drafted by:

S/S-O: R.D. Blackwill

21530

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

S/S-O: L. Kilday

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA -
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NIGERIA **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 784

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PAGE 01 LONDON: 06918 311124Z

12
ACTION: SS 30

INFO: OCT 01, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, CCO: 00, /031 W

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P 311110Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2502
INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET LONDON 6918

EXDIS

REF: STATE 147492

SUBJECT: UK INTERVENTION WITH GOWON

1. WE TALKED TO TEBBIT (ASST UNDER SEC FONOFF) ABOUT DISCUSSIONS IN LAGOS THIS WEEKEND ON ICRC RELIEF FLIGHTS. HE SAID UK HICOMER LAGOS ALREADY INSTRUCTED ON FRIDAY TO SEE GOWON AND MAKE REPRESENTATIONS. CONTENT OF INSTRUCTIONS SIMILAR TO CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH IN DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO OLSON. ASSUMING BRITISH HICOMER GETS TO SEE GOWON, TEBBIT THOUGHT THERE WAS NOTHING FURTHER UK COULD DO AT THIS JUNCTURE. CLEVELAND

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Department of State

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03120 301947Z

87
ACTION 58:30

INFO: OCT 01, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, CCO: 00, /031 W

055887

0301915Z AUG 69 ZFF4..

F.M. USMISSION. GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2775

SEE CORRECTION GENEVA. 3120

EXDIS

DEPT PASS: WHITE HOUSE FOR FLANIGAN

PASS ADDIS, LAGOS, LONDON, PARIS, ROME, USUNI

SUBJECT: FERGUSON/VATICAN MEETING

REFERENCE: ROME: 5500 *ab*

1. BEFORE BENELLI JOINED HOUR-LONG SESSION, BAYER GAVE FERGUSON IMPRESSIONS GAINED FROM THREE VISITS TO ENCLAVE IN TWO MONTHS. SAID "GENERAL SITUATION DETERIORATING, NIGHT AIRLIFT GETTING BETWEEN 120 TO 125 TONS IN-DAILY. INTERNAL CROPI REPRESENTS "LOPSIDED DIET AND NOT ENOUGH ANYWAY". SAID "WE GIVE ABOUT 15 TONS A NIGHT TO RED CROSS TO MAINTAIN STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL GROUPS."

2. BAYER MENTIONING RELIEF PROBLEMS IN ENCLAVE, INCLUDING SALT AND TRANSPORTATION, SAID HE TOLD OJUKWU SALT INPUT OF 100 TO 150 TONS IN ECONOMY MONTHLY WOULD REESTABLISH FOOD PRICE STABILITY.

3. BAYER SAW LITTLE HOPE FOR PEACE BECAUSE FMG FEELS RELIEF
A KEY TO WINNING WAR.

4. SAID OJUKWU WOULD ACCEPT STANDSTILL TRUCE. FERBUSON SAID MIGHT BE USEFUL TO GET FMG ATTITUDE ON THIS POINT. BAYER ALSO FELT BIAFRA WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK SETTLEMENT EVEN WITHOUT TRUCE.

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~~XR POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria~~
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03119 301910Z

53
ACTION SS 30

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2774

S E C R E T GENEVA 3119

EXDIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR FLANIGAN.

DEPT PASS. ADDIS, LAGOS, LONDON, PARIS, ROME, USUN.

SUBJECT: POPE-FERGUSON AUDIENCE*SECTION 2 REFTEL

REF: ROME 5499. - *ah*

1. POPE NEXT TURNED SIGNIFICANCE AZIKIWE. ASKED FERGUSON IF HE HAD INFO RE MONROVIA MEETING. POPE INDICATED HE HAD NO INFO. FERGUSON REPLIED UNDERSTOOD MANY HAVE BEEN AT LEAST THREE MATTERS UNDER DISCUSSION: (A) ZIK STATEMENT ON WAR; (B) ZIK PLAN FOR SOV STYLE INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATION, E.G., LIKE UKRAINE IN UN, AND (C) PROMISE ZIK TO RETURN LAGOS TO LIVE. FERGUSON INDICATED HIS INFO UNOFFICIAL BUT UNDERSTOOD GOWON VERY COOL TO POINT (B). POPE ASKED FERGUSON WHAT USG VIEW WAS AS TO EFFECTIVENESS AND CREDIBILITY OF ZIK. REPLIED: DID NOT THINK USG HAD VIEW BUT STRICTLY PERSONAL. VIEW ZIK NO INFLUENCE WITH BIAFRAN ESTABLISHMENT BUT ZIK LIKELY HAVE INFLUENCE ON MAN IN BUSH BUT MAN IN BUSH DOES NOT MAKE BIAFRAN POLICY. POPE ASKED IF GOOD IDEA TO PROMOTE ZIK-MOJUKWU MEETING. POPE SAID HE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FONMIN IVORY COAST ON MATTER. FERGUSON REPLIED NO INSTRUCTIONS ON MATTER. POPE PRESSED FOR OPINION. FERGUSON, STATING VIEW STRICTLY PERSONAL, THOUGHT SUCH MEETING EXCELLENT IDEA. FERGUSON THEN STATED REASONS FOR PERSONAL VIEW.

2. POPE ASKED FOR USG VIEW RE ROLE FOR POPE IN UPCOMING OAU.
FERGUSON ATTEMPTED EVADE QUESTION BY STATING WOULD BE PRESUMPTIOUS

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Home 5499
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PAGE 01 ROME 05499 30 533Z

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D 301455Z AUG 69 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY RDME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2130

~~SECRET~~ ROME 5499

EXDIS

DEPT PASS TO: AMEMBASSIES ADDIS ABABA, LAGOS, LONDON, PARIS,
USMISSION GENEVA, USMISSION USUN, WHITE HOUSE.

WHITE HOUSE ATTN FLANIGAN

FROM AMBASSADOR FERGLISON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA. POPE-FERGUSON AUDIENCE

(DUE NECESSITY LEAVE IMMEDIATELY FOR GENEVA TEL IN TWO SECTIONS, FIRST SECTION FOLLOWS, SECOND SECTION WILL BE DISPATCHED GENEVA).

1. FERGUSON CALLED ON POPE FOR 45 MIN. AUDIENCE. VATICAN
REARRANGED SCHEDULE SO THAT PAPAL AUDIENCE CAME BEFORE
OTHER CONFERENCES.

2. POPE, WITH TALKING POINTS BEFORE HIM, OPENED WITH A DETAILED ACCURATE BRIEFING OF THE CURRENT STATUS OF RELIEF EFFORTS CONCLUDING "WE FACE SUPREME CRISIS MONDAY. WE MUST HAVE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WHATEVER THE COST." POPE THEN MENTIONED HE UNDERSTOOD FERGUSON WAS PREPARING "WHITE PAPER." FERGUSON DENIED BUT SAID MATTER HAD BEEN UNDER CONSIDERATION IN USG FROM TIME TO TIME. POPE REJOINED: "NO, UNDERSTAND YOU ARE PREPARING PAPER." FERGUSON REMINDED POPE HE PART OF DEPT. AND IF PAPER DONE WOULD BE USG DOCUMENT. POPE URGED, "MUST BE PATIENT. WOULD BE MISTAKE AND 'UPSETTING' TO ISSUE PAPER." SAID SUCH PAPER WOULD BE POLITICALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY DAMAGING AND AGAIN URGED PATIENCE. FERGUSON

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E X D I S

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

REF: State 147444

1. In view critical discussion Lagos this weekend re ICRC relief flights Embassy Lagos has been authorized convey President's concern General Gowon (reftel).

2. Believe a comparable high level British intervention could be decisive factor in getting Lagos agreement flights. In Newsom-Tomkins discussion yesterday, Tomkins indicated strong British desire be helpful in getting favorable decision from Gowon and agreement this in FMG interest as ~~well~~ as that of US and UK.

3. Will appreciate anything you can do at appropriate levels British government with view to consideration what further HMG might do to affect Monday decision Lagos.

ROGERS.

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:nb	DRAFTING DATE 8/30/69	TEL. EXT. 21185	APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
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CLEARANCES:

EUR - Mr. Cheslaw
S/PC - C. Ruser (subs)

S/S - Mr. Lloyd

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C <u>10</u>		NEA	
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PAGE 01 ROME 05500 301541Z

42
ACTION. SS. 30

INFO: OCT 01, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, CCO 000/031 W

O 301455Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2131

S E C R E T ROME 5500

EXDIS:

DEPT PASS TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA; LAGOS; LONDON; PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA; USUN NEW YORK; FLANIGAN, WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: FERGUSON DISCUSSION AT VATICAN

1. SUMMARY: ARCHBISHOP BENELLI, SUBSTITUTE SECRETARY OF STATE, AND MONSIGNOR BAYER (CARITAS), MADE IT CLEAR VATICAN BELIEVES FMG WILL REJECT OR DRAG FEET ON ICRC DAYLIGHT PROPOSAL. THUS, STRICT LEGALISTIC INTERPRETATIONS MUST NOT STAND IN WAY OF CLEAR DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE, AND OUTSIDE OAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, LABELED MERCY FLIGHTS, SHOULD BE INITIATED NEXT WEEK WITH OR WITHOUT FMG INSPECTION.
END SUMMARY.

2. DAYLIGHT MERCY FLIGHTS. BENELLI, IN ELOQUENT AND FORCEFUL TERMS, RAISED QUESTION OF DIRECT MERCY FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA. SAID "IT IS A DUTY TO GO." EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN OVER DELAY IN GETTING RELIEF INTO ENCLAVE, SAYING, "WE CANNOT WAIT ANYMORE. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR US IS THE QUESTION OF SAVING LIVES. THIS IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE HISTORY, THE WHOLE WORLD. WE ARE NOT DOING WHAT WE SHOULD DO."

3. RATIONALE FOR MERCY FLIGHTS. BENELLI EXPLAINED, "WE MUST CONSIDER THIS THING THIS WAY. "PEOPLE ARE DYING." CALLED IT A "MATTER OF CONSCIENCE NOT RPT NOT POLITICS."

4. FLIGHT PROPOSAL. BAYER SAID A GROUP OF GOVERNMENTS SHOULD SPONSOR DIRECT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, INFORMING FMG IT CAN SEND INSPECTORS IF IT WANTS TO. BAYER TERMED THIS ONLY WAY OUT OF

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Pol 279 Biafra-Nigeria
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SECRET 660

PAGE 01 STATE 147490

87
ORIGIN SS 10

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, /011 R

66639
DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBRUBECK
APPROVED BY: AF/SN:WHBRUBECK
S/S - MR. LLOYD

0 302132Z AUG 69 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 147490

EXDIS

FOR FERGUSON

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM LAGOS AUG 30, QTE:

LAGOS 7872

DEPT PLEASE PASS GENEVA AND ROME

ROME FOR FERGUSON

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: CROSS RIVER

REF: STATE 147032: GENEVA 3099.

1. WE APPRECIATE PROBLEM FACING FERGUSON IN
CROSS RIVER TALKS AND WISH BE HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE.
BELIEVE HOWEVER QUESTION WHETHER OR NOT ICRC
WITHDRAWS FROM RELIEF PICTURE HAS BEARING ON
ULTIMATE SUCCESS CROSS RIVER TALKS. DESPITE
CRITICISM ICRC IT IS OUR STRONG IMPRESSION THAT
ICRC IN FACT TRUSTED BY TOP LEVEL FMG OFFICIALS
AND THAT IT OFFERS BEST HOPE AS AUTHORITY AND

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41

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PAGE 02 STATE 147490

SPONSORING BODY FOR CROSS RIVER OPERATION.

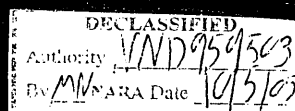
2. FMG NOW FOCUSING HARD ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL AND WE UNDER IMPRESSION THOSE ADVOCATES OF FMG ACCEPTANCE, INCLUDING EDDIE ENAHORO, ARE WORKING HARD ON OTHERS. WE AGREE WITH DEPT THAT WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT DISTRACT FMG FROM THIS CRUCIAL PROBLEM. THEREFORE WE WOULD BE MOST RELUCTANT RAISE QUESTION UNTIL AFTER HOPEFULLY FAVORABLE DECISION ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL. WE SEE NO RPT NO REASON, HOWEVER, WHY DEPT SHOULD NOT PICK UP IYALLA QUERY AND URGE HIM REQUEST LAGOS STRENGTHEN DELEGATION TO CROSS RIVER TALKS. ALSO SEE NO REASON WHY GENEVA SHOULD NOT RAISE MATTER WITH KOLO AS SUGGESTED PARA 5 GENEVA 3099.

3. WHEN AIR IS CLEARED ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL HOPEFULLY BY TUESDAY WE PREPARED TAKE MATTER UP AT FONOFF LEVEL, PRESUMABLY AFTER IYALLA HAS AGREED MAKE REQUEST TO FMG TO STRENGTHEN CROSS RIVER DELEGATION. WE CONFIDENT THAT UK HICOM WILL ALSO BE PREPARED BE HELPFUL WITH MIN EXTAFF. AS DEPT WILL NOTE IN LAGOS 7857, OMO BARE HAS BEEN ASKED STUDY CROSS RIVER PROPOSALS. HE ALSO INVOLVED AND WE BELIEVE FAVORABLY IN DAY FLIGHT DISCUSSIONS. THIS MAKES HIM NOW LOGICAL TARGET OUR REPRESENTATION AND WE WILL TAKE MATTER UP WITH HIM AS WELL. WE DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD UNDERTAKE THESE REPRESENTATIONS UNTIL NEXT TUESDAY.

4. POINT MADE PARA 6 GENEVA 3099 THAT CROSS RIVER TALKS OFFER OPENING FOR POSSIBILITY CONFIDENTIAL NON-RELIEF DISCUSSIONS WITH BIAFRANS SEEMS TO US TO HAVE SOME MERIT AND WE WILL USE THIS POINT. HOWEVER, BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAKE PITCH ON QUALIFIED TECHNICAL EXPERTS, POINTING OUT THAT IF SEEMS PROPITIOUS, FMG MAY WISH AUGMENT POLITICAL LEVEL FOR BROADENED DISCUSSIONS. FMG, HOWEVER, MAY WELL TAKE VIEW AS IN PAST THAT POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS LOOKING TOWARD SETTLEMENT

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PAGE 03 STATE 147490

OF CIVIL WAR MUST TAKE PLACE IN AFRICAN ARENA.
WE DOUBT FMG WILL BE MOVED BY STRESSING US
COMMITMENT ON CROSS RIVER NOR DO WE FEEL THAT
QTE CONSEQUENCES FAILURE END QTE WILL WEIGH HEAVILY
WITH FMG. GP=3
OLSON.

UNQTE
ROGERS

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FOR OLSON FROM UNDER SECRETARY
GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: Conversation with Gowon

1. You authorized tell Gowon at Apollo showing or other appropriate occasion that President deeply concerned with possible breakdown relief flights and grateful know Gowon ~~xxxxxxx xxxxxxxxx~~ personally seized with problem response to ICRC by Monday.
2. While appreciating difficult problems for Gowon, President believes FMG affirmativexxx response of great importance.
also
3. You may/convey USG strong feeling that, in present state of play, FMG refusal would put onus for failure squarely on FMG, provide other side major propaganda and diplomatic victory, offsetting FMG success with Azikiwe actions. Point out also ~~xxxx~~ our concern that FMG refusal will not stopx illegal relief program. On contrary,

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:nb

DRAFTING DATE

8/30/69

TEL. EXT.

21185

APPROVED BY:

The Under Secretary

CLEARANCES:

AF - Mr. Newsom

S/PC - Claus W. Ruser C.W.R.

W.H. - Dr. Kissinger

by: C.W.R.

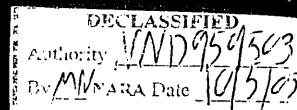
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Page 2

INFO: GENEVA PRIORITY
LONDON
PARIS

will probably strengthen Biafran hand with relief group and international opinion, with net result more overt and ~~and~~ enlarged illegal relief program, and perhaps even increased illegal financing ~~and~~ arms ~~and~~ aid from groups and governments sympathetic rebel cause.

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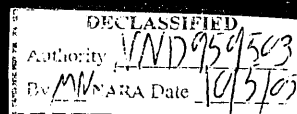
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Department of State
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
147489

JB

30 Aug 69 21 30z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS ~~XXXXXXXX~~ IMMEDIATE

INFO: USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

STATE _____

E X D I S

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: JCA C-97's

1. We approaching JCA to insure there no leak during next few critical days re prospective US deliveries two additional C-97's. However, in order minimize Lagos reaction if leak occurs, following is contingency guidance to be used only repeat only in that event.
not
2. We are ~~in~~ increasing JCA capability. However, C-97's nearly worn out and breakdowns frequent. In ~~xxxxx~~ order, therefore, meet original commitment and supply JCA as originally agreed, necessary add to ~~x~~ original number of planes. This ~~xxx~~ represents simply solving maintenance problem; will not increase original number of in actual operation. planes/~~operating JCA program~~ Therefore represents no increase in JCA program.

ROGER\$

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:nb *mb* DRAFTING DATE: 8/30/69 TEL. EXT.: 21185 APPROVED BY: *mb* AF - DDNewsom

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Davidson *mb* S/S - Mr. ~~XXXXX~~ Lloyd *mb*
S/PG - C. Ruser (subs) @ W, R.

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FORM DS-322
4-68

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U 5		ARA	
J 6		EA	
D 7		EUR	18
C 10		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC 12, 13		White House	2, 3
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U/CF 14		Defense	
		State Rep	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA	19
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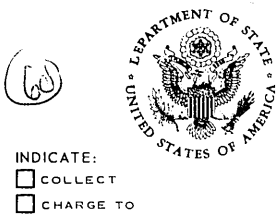
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J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/P ✓ 12, 13		White House ✓✓ 2, 3	
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147032
Feb 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
30 Aug 69 00 03z

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DISTRIBUTION	ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY ROME PRIORITY USMission GENEVA PRIORITY
	STATE _____ E X D I S ROME FOR FERGUSON REF: Geneva 3099 (Repeated Lagos) 1. We share Ambassador Ferguson's deep disappointment at lack of response FMG in Cross River talks. 2. Per reftel Newsom called in Tomkins (UK Min) and reviewed problem with him. Tomkins was understanding and sympathetic but only specific response was agree inform UK Hicom Lagos and request his support US efforts. 3. In Brubeck-Iyalla lunch conversation today, Iyalla was raised subject Cross River talks and asked if sending technical experts from Washington and Lagos would facilitate progress. (We puzzled his ref to Washington experts but can only surmise it possible Lagos face-saving move.) Iyalla expressed willingness raise question Lagos if we interested.

147032
8/30/69

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:nb	DRAFTING DATE 8/29/69	TEL. EXT. 21185	APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
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CLEARANCES:
SIPE - Mr. Ruser *cm.R.*
U/CF - Mr. Davidson (info) *BS*
S/S - Mr. Brown *W*

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0864

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USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

Page 2

E X D I S

4. Also concerned not distract Lagos from crucial ICRC decision, would appreciate Ferguson and Lagos comments re feasibility Embassy talk Lagos at Fonoff level (perhaps Eddie Enahoro) based on Iyalla approach here and ~~india~~ indicating our interest in moving quickly to get qualified experts to assist in talks. We could also ask Iyalla weigh in Lagos on his own.

5. If FMG response promising, we could then move to higher level discussion after ICRC crisis settled. Iyalla ~~xxxxxxx~~ comments ~~representation~~ give hope we might be able get additional Lagos ~~response~~ Geneva by end of next week.

6. ~~Miss~~ ^{Although} Lagos idea of "technical experts" may not produce kind of high level rep we would like. Believe it might be useful first step in improving Lagos rep Geneva.

7. Appreciate addressee reactions soonest.

ROGERS

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4-68

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S/S-Screener	<u>27-29</u>	Post <u>L Aigos / Rome, Geneva</u>	Dpty
S/S-S-CMS	<u>30</u>	Serial No. <u>147032</u>	
S/S-O	<u>11</u>	Date <u>29 August 69</u>	Dpty

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, SSO 00, /128 W
056704

P 301226Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 694
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 3857

GENEVA AND ROME FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: AMB FERGUSON VISIT

REF: A. GENEVA 3109; B. GENEVA 3096; C. GENEVA 3094

1. ANTICIPATE HIM AUDIENCE AM SEPT 3 AND WILL CONFIRM
APPOINTMENT AS SOON AS RECEIVED FROM PALACE (REF A).

2. RE ARRIVAL STATEMENT, IN LIGHT OAU MEETINGS BELIEVE IT
POSSIBLE HANDLE PUBLICITY THROUGH PRESS CONFERENCE RATHER
THAN FORMAL STATEMENT ON ARRIVAL IF DESIRED. BELIEVE WE CAN
HOLD PUBLICITY TO MINIMUM OR MAXIMIZE AS DESIRED.
ARRIVAL STATEMENT WILL SERVE TO INCREASE PUBLICITY.

3. IF NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT RPT NOT BEEN INFORMED
AMB FERGUSON PLANS VISIT ADDIS, SUGGEST LAGOS BE AUTHORIZED
INFORM FMG AND I BE AUTHORIZED PROVIDE NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR
ADDIS ADVANCE WORD. ALSO BELIEVE MIGHT HELP STEM RUMOR
AND SPECULATION OAU COMMUNITY IF DIALLO TELLI INFORMED OF
VISIT. WHILE TELLI UNLIKELY BE AVAILABLE NEXT WEEK

CONFIDENTIAL

0868

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ADDIS 03857 301324Z

BECAUSE OF COUNCIL MINISTERS MEETING, MIGHT ALSO BE
WORTHWHILE OFFER FERGUSON CALL ON TELLI SEPT 3.
HALL!

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0869

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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05



Oct 27 Biafra - Nigeria
12 Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 306

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00892 301209Z

SI
ACTION: SS: 70

INFO: OCT 01 CIAE 00 1071 W

056402

R 301030Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2785

S E I C R E T LIBREVILLE 892

L I M D I S

DEPT. RPT AS DESIRED

SUBJECT: FRENCH MILITARY ATTACHE'S ASSESSMENT OF BIAFRAN SITUATION

REF: LIBREVILLE 875

1. AS PROMISED ME BY FRENCH AMB DELAUNEY, HIS MILITARY ATTACHE LTC. JEAN MERLE (WHO DOUBLES AS DIRECTOR FRENCH RED CROSS RELIEF OPERATION HERE) BRIEFED ME YESTERDAY ON CURRENT STATE IN BIAFRA. SOME KEY POINTS FOLLOW. FURTHER DETAILS IN MEMCON POUCHED TO DEPT.

2. AS HAD PRES BONGO BEFORE HIM (REFTEL), MERLE RETURNED REPEATEDLY TO THEME THAT WORKABLE SOLUTIONS TO BOTH RELIEF AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS WOULD ULTIMATELY REQUIRE AGREEMENT AND INTERVENTION AT GREAT POWER LEVEL. PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO FULL RESUMPTION OF RELIEF EFFORT, MERLE MADE CLEAR HE PERSONALLY HOPED FOR DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT. ONLY WAY DEEP SUSPICIONSON BOTH SIDES COULD BE OVERCOME AND SUPPLIES GOT MOVING AGAIN, HE SAID, WOULD BE FOR US INSTRUMENTALITIES AND PERSONNEL TO ASSUME DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY, SINCE ONLY UNITED STATE WAS CONSIDERED NEUTRAL.

3. MERLE ALSO ARGUED FORCEFULLY THAT OAU AND OTHER AFRICAN FORUMS HELD SCANT HOPE FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT TO WAR. FUNDAMENTAL HITCHES WERE (A) AFRICANS' LIMITED ABILITY BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR TO ENFORCE SOLUTION AND (B) FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENTS AMONG BOTH AFRICANS AND GREAT POWERS PRESENTLY TAKING SIDES INDISPUTE. MERLE LIKE

SECRET
23

Libreville 892
8/30/69

0870

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 3117 301213Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
056451

P 301209Z AUG 69

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2771

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LIMDIS

GENEVA 3317

1. FOLLOWING UNCLASSIFIED TELEX JUST RECEIVED:

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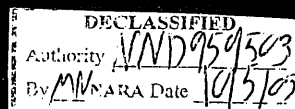
ATTN AMBASSADOR FERGUSON. CRS NEW YORK REPORTS THE FOLLOWING
IN TELEX RECEIVED DURING NIGHT: "STOLLENWERK BY RADIOTELEPHONE
TODAY URGED US DO ALL POSSIBLE INCREASE AIRLIFT CAPACITY.
ANXIOUSLY AWAITING ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT. WE CANCELLED FERRY
SECOND C97 TEL AVIV DUE URGENT NEED ALL AVAILABLE OPERATIVE
AIRCRAFT UNTIL SITUATION EASES AND IT CAN BE SPARED. ALL FOUR
STRATOFREIGHTERS NOW ON SAO TOME ARE GUNG HO." REGARDS CHENARD,
CRS GENEVA. NOTE: TOLLENWERK IS CRS REPRESENTATIVE SAO TOME.

UNQUOTE

TUBBY

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Geneva 3117
8-30-69

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ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

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8/5/69

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By MVA Date 10/5/03

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03
30 AUG 69 16 47Z

Origin
Info

ACTION: Amembassy MONROVIA

SUBJECT: C-97 Engines

REF: MONROVIA 3904

Request, on suitable occasion, you express to GOL appreciation of USG for their action in releasing aircraft and engines for JCA. This was most helpful action in furthering humanitarian efforts relieve suffering victims Nigerian war.

END

ROGERS

Drafted by: AR/W:HCMartin/DDNewsom:ddl
8/30/69
28355

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - Mr. Newsom

Clearance:

AF/SN - Mr. Sherry (in subst.)

U/CF - Mr. Davidson

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0873

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By: MNA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA
NIGERIA

147459

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Classification

30 Aug 69 19 57
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Origin ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

Info:

FOR FERGUSON

STATE

SUBJECT: JCA AIRCRAFT

1. At Undersecretary's request Assistant Secretary Newsom called Catholic Relief and spoke with Kinney about two C-97 aircraft. Bishop Swanstrom in Canada and unavailable.

2. Newsom explained Department aware of keen interest in and Catholic relief/early delivery two C-97 aircraft. At same time discussions currently in progress which could bring breakthrough on relief of benefit to all agencies. Any public discussion additional aircraft for JCA lift could jeopardize other discussions.

3. Kinney said Catholic relief was concerned since aircraft had been promised and time was pressing. He fully understood current situation and assured Newsom Catholic relief would do or say nothing pending further discussions with

Department.

Drafted by: AF/DDNewsom:ddl 22530 8/30/69 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Mr. Newsom

Clearances: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ U - Mr. Ruser S/S - Mr. Lloyd
U/CF - Mr. Davidson

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Origin

ACTION: PAGE - 2 USMISSION GENEVA

Info:

4. Bishop Swanstrom will telephone Newsom Tuesday morning for further discussion.

END

ROGERS

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Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

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8-65 DS-322

0875

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

7873
8-30-69

SECRET 321

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SS 20, JPM 04, L 03, NSC 10, CIAE 00,
INR 07, NSAE 00, RSC 01, EUR 17, RSR 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,
/110 W

056600

P 301136Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8718
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY GENEVA

SECRET LAGOS 7873

SUBJECT: FERGUSON VISIT TO ADDIS

WE INCLINE TO VIEW THAT IF CAN BE GRACEFULLY DONE, BE IN
BEST INTEREST NOT RPT NOT JEOPARDIZING FURTHER NIGERIAN
COOPERATION ON CROSS RIVER TALKS IF FERGUSON COULD POSTPONE
VISIT TO ADDIS. WE BELIEVE IYALLA GENUINELY REFLECTS FMG
CONCERN AND THAT UNFORTUNATE AS IT MAY BE, FERGUSON VISIT
MIGHT LEND CREDENCE DIALLO TELLIS CHARGES WE MEDDLING IN
OAU AFFAIRS. GP-3
OLSON
BT

NNN

1

SECRET

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Re 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 577

PAGE 01 STATE 147190

87
ORIGIN SS 10

INFO OCT 01, 1969 R

66645
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APPROVED BY: AF/SN WHRRUBFKC
AF/SN GSHERRY
S/S MR LLOYD

P 300125Z AUG 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

SECRET STATE 147190

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE AUG 29, 1969 FROM GENEVA:

QUOTE GENEVA 3099

EXDIS

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA

FOR NEWSOM AND CHARGE LAGOS FROM FERGUSON

1. CROSS RIVER TALKS HAVE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED READINESS AND WILLINGNESS BIAFRANS NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. COOKEY AND OBI HAVE AUTHORITY CONCLUDE REASONABLE, WORKABLE AGREEMENT. THERE IS SIGNIFICANT DEGREE FLEXIBILITY THEIR POSITIONS WHICH WOULD ALLOW COMPROMISE ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS DESIGNATION SPONSOR, NATURE OF GUARANTEES, AND INSPECTION PROCEDURE. IN GENERAL BIAFRANS ACCEPT CARTEL AGREEMENT AS WRITTEN AND HAVE SUGGESTED ONLY MINOR ADDITIONS OR CHANGES.

2. FMG ON OTHER HAND HAS REACTED IN EVERY WAY CALCULATED SLOW DOWN AND KILL ANY SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. HOLLIST IS

SECRET

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0877

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 STATE 147194

UNPREPARED, UNINSTRUCTED, AND POWERLESS. HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS OR KOLO MAY ACTUALLY BE TO DO NOTHING. BOTH SESSIONS WITH HOLLAND, WITH BIAFRANS PRESENT AND ALONE, HAVE BEEN ACUTELY EMBARRASSING. AT LAST SESSION HIS ONLY INTELLIGENT QUESTIONS WERE COMPLETELY INGENUOUS AND INDICATED VIRTUALLY COMPLETE LACK PREPARATION OR BACKGROUND. EVEN AS EXERCISE IN STALLING IT IS INCOMPETENT.

3. BIAFRANS HAVE COME HERE EXPECTING SERIOUS TALKS AND POSSIBLE OBLIQUE APPROACHES TO TECHNICAL STARTERS ON EVENTUAL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE DISGUSTED WITH PERFORMANCE AND CLOSE TO BREAKING OFF. WE HAVE MANAGED OBTAIN THEIR AGREEMENT TO SHORT RECESS. HOWEVER, UNLESS FMG DEMONSTRATES GOOD FAITH WITHIN NEXT WEEK WE WILL BE FACED WITH DECISION TO TERMINATE CROSS RIVER TALKS. BIAFRANS ARE LIKELY AT THAT POINT PLACE TALKS AND THEIR FAILURE ON PUBLIC RECORD.

4. DEPARTMENT WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE INVESTMENT THESE TALKS. TALKS HAVE BEEN KEPT IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, SITE FOR TALKS IS IDEAL-SECLUDED AND PRIVATE. STAFF IS IN PLACE HANDLE ALL LIKELY CONTINGENCIES AT THIS STAGE. SUCCESS OF TALKS ON CROSS RIVER WOULD PROVIDE PRECEDENT OF INCALCULABLE VALUE IN RESTORING SOME MEASURE CONFIDENCE BOTH SIDES IN EACH OTHER AND COULD CREATE FORUM AND ATMOSPHERE WHICH CONDUCTIVE FURTHER TALKS ON GROUND RULES AND TECHNICAL PRELIMINARIES FOR SERIOUS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. FAILURE MAY ONLY FURTHER CONVINCE BIAFRANS THAT FMG STILL INSISTS ON MILITARY VICTORY.

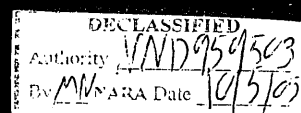
5. I, THEREFORE, REQUEST URGENT AND STRONG SUPPORT FROM DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY LAGOS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT FMG SEND MEANINGFUL DELEGATION WITH POWERS REACH COMPROMISE AGREEMENTS. IN VIEW KOLO'S POSITION AS CHIEF OF DELEGATION, HE SHOULD BE OFFERED DEPUTY WHO HAS SOME STATURE, AS WELL AS GIVEN POSITIVE INSTRUCTIONS. WE WOULD NOT WISH OFFEND KOLO BY REQUESTING DELEGATION INDEPENDENT HIS CONTROL. I SHALL RAISE THIS MATTER WITH KOLO AGAIN SUNDAY, INASMUCH HE HAS INDICATED RECEPTIVITY ON THE PROBLEM.

6. LAGOS REQUESTED WITH SPECIFIC CONCURRENCE DEPARTMENT TO APPROACH HIGHEST LEVELS FMG TO PRESENT NEED FOR MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION CROSS RIVER TALKS. SIGNIFICANCE

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PAGE 03 STATE 147190

THESE TALKS AS OPENING POSSIBILITY CONFIDENTIAL NON-RELIEF DISCUSSIONS WITH BIAFRANS WITHOUT CONSTRAINT PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE OR COMMITMENT TO SPECIFIC RESULTS SHOULD BE POINTED OUT TO FMG. US COMMITMENT ON CROSS RIVER AND INCREASING IMPORTANCE CONCRETE RESULTS SHOULD ALSO BE STRESSED. CONSEQUENCES FAILURE CONSTITUTES IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT.

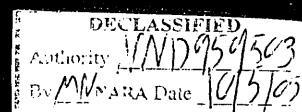
7. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH COMMENT ABOVE POINTS. I BELIEVE, WASHINGTON SHOULD ALSO CALL IN TOMKINS OR OTHER HIGH LEVEL UK EMBASSY OFFICER AND CONVEY SUBSTANCE THIS MESSAGE. TOMKINS ACCEPTED IN MEETING WITH ME AUG 14 THAT UK COULD ASSIST US IN OBTAINING MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION CROSS RIVER TALKS. YOU MAY WISH INDICATE FRENCH COOPERATION IN BRINGING BIAFRANS AROUND AND THAT WE EXPECT NO LESS FROM UK.

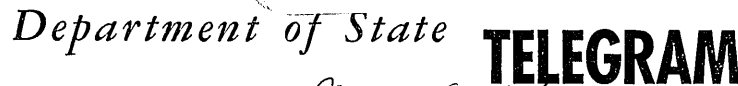
8. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS AMEMBASSY LAGOS. SIGNED TURBY UNQUOTE ROGERS

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POH 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
XR SOC 3 REX CROSS

SE! RET 318

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07872 301251Z

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ACTION SS: 30

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /03! W

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P 301118Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8717

S E C R E T LAGOS 7872

DEPT PLEASE PASS GENEVA AND ROME
ROME FOR FERGUSON

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: CROSS RIVER
REF: STATE 147032: GENEVA 3099.

1. WE APPRECIATE PROBLEM FACING FERGUSON IN CROSS RIVER TALKS AND WISH BE HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE. BELIEVE HOWEVER QUESTION WHETHER OR NOT ICRC WITHDRAWS FROM RELIEF PICTURE HAS BEARING ON ULTIMATE SUCCESS CROSS RIVER TALKS. DESPITE CRITICISM ICRC IT IS OUR STRONG IMPRESSION THAT ICRC IN FACT TRUSTED BY TOP LEVEL FMG OFFICIALS AND THAT IT OFFERS BEST HOPE AS AUTHORITY AND SPONSORING BODY FOR CROSS RIVER OPERATION.

2. FMG NOW FOCUSING HARD ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL AND WE UNDER IMPRESSION THOSE ADVOCATES OF FMG ACCEPTANCE, INCLUDING EDDIE ENAHORO, ARE WORKING HARD ON OTHERS. WE AGREE WITH DEPT THAT WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT DISTRACT FMG FROM THIS CRUCIAL PROBLEM. THEREFORE WE WOULD BE MOST RELUCTANT RAISE QUESTION UNTIL AFTER HOPEFULLY FAVORABLE DECISION ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL. WE SEE NO RPT NO REASON, HOWEVER, WHY DEPT SHOULD NOT PICK UP IYALLA QUERY AND URGE HIM REQUEST LAGOS STRENGTHEN.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07872 301251Z

DELEGATION TO CROSS RIVER TALKS. ALSO SEE NO REASON WHY GENEVA SHOULD NOT RAISE MATTER WITH KOLO AS SUGGESTED PARA 5 GENEVA 3099.

3. WHEN AIR IS CLEARED ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL HOPEFULLY BY TUESDAY WE PREPARED TAKE MATTER UP AT FONOFF LEVEL, PRESUMABLY AFTER IYALLA HAS AGREED MAKE REQUEST TO FMG TO STRENGTHEN CROSS RIVER DELEGATION. WE CONFIDENT THAT UK HICOM WILL ALSO BE PREPARED BE HELPFUL WITH MIN EXTAFF. AS DEPT WILL NOTE IN LAGOS 7857, OMO BARE HAS BEEN ASKED STUDY CROSS RIVER PROPOSALS. HE ALSO INVOLVED AND WE BELIEVE FAVORABLY IN DAY FLIGHT DISCUSSIONS. THIS MAKES HIM NOW LOGICAL TARGET OUR REPRESENTATION AND WE WILL TAKE MATTER UP WITH HIM AS WELL. WE DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD UNDERTAKE THESE REPRESENTATIONS UNTIL NEXT TUESDAY.

4. POINT MADE PARA 6 GENEVA 3099 THAT CROSS RIVER TALKS OFFER OPENING FOR POSSIBILITY CONFIDENTIAL NON-RELIEF DISCUSSIONS WITH BIAFRANS SEEMS TO US TO HAVE SOME MERIT AND WE WILL USE THIS POINT. HOWEVER, BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAKE PITCH ON QUALIFIED TECHNICAL EXPERTS, POINTING OUT THAT IF SEEMS PROPITIOUS, FMG MAY WISH AUGMENT POLITICAL LEVEL FOR BROADENED DISCUSSIONS. FMG, HOWEVER, MAY WELL TAKE VIEW AS IN PAST THAT POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS LOOKING TOWARD SETTLEMENT OF CIVIL WAR MUST TAKE PLACE IN AFRICAN ARENA. WE DOUBT FMG WILL BE MOVED BY STRESSING US COMMITMENT ON CROSS RIVER NOR DO WE FEEL THAT QTE CONSEQUENCES FAILURE END QTE WILL WEIGH HEAVILY WITH FMG. GP-3
OLSON

NOTE: NOT PASSED GENEVA AND ROME BY OC/T.

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S/S-S-CMS	31	Serial No. 7872	
S/S-O	11	Date 8/30/69	Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S ✓ 4		AF ✓✓ 16-17	
U ✓ 5		ARA	
J ✓ 6		EA	
D ✓ 7		EUR	
C ✓ 10		NEA	
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 268

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51
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 01, CCD 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, SCI 05,

NASA 04, RSR 01, 153 W

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P 301043Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8716
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7871

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHT

REF: LAGOS 7813 AND 7863.

UK HICOMER DOES NOT YET HAVE APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON TO
DISCUSS ICRC EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL. IN
LIGHT HIS SATISFACTORY DISCUSSION WITH CHIEF ENAHORO
YESTERDAY AND FACT THAT FMG MEETING ON SUBJECT NOW
UNDER WAY HE NOT RPT NOT PRESSING TOO HARD AT MOMENT.
HOWEVER BOTH HICOMER AND I WILL SEE GOWON TONIGHT AT
SHOWING OF APOLLO XI FILMS WHICH I HAVE MADE AVAILABLE
AND HOPEFULLY WILL THEN HAVE OPPORTUNITY DISCUSS MATTER
WITH HIM. GP-3
OLSON
BT

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Page 7871
8-30-69

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POW 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03110 291841Z

44
ACTION SS 30

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INFO OCT 01, 031 W

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R 291820Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2766

SECRET GENEVA 3110

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF-HUYDECOPER VISIT

1. FERGUSON, WITH SCHOTT AND DEWEY, HAD WORKING LUNCH TODAY WITH HUYDECOPER (DUTCH MFA). PURPOSE HUYDECOPER VISIT WAS TO GET UPDATE ON CROSS RIVER TALKS, DISCUSS WAYS HAGUE GROUP AND/OR DUTCH MIGHT RELATE TO EVENTS IN GENEVA.

2. FERGUSON PROMISED TO CONTACT HUYDECOPER NEXT WEEK TO FILL IN ON ANY PROGRESS WITH FMG IN VIEW HUYDECOPER'S OFFER TO HELP, IF REQUIRED, IN LAGOS. RE OTHER HAGUE GROUP ASSISTANCE, IT WAS AGREED MORE PRODUCTIVE TO APPROACH MEMBERS SELECTIVELY FOR POSSIBLE AID ON SPONSORSHIP. SEE NO PROBLEM SENSITIVITIES OF NON-CONTACTED MEMBERS SINCE LEVEL INTEREST, CAPABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE NOW FAIRLY WELL ESTABLISHED. OBSERVER/INSPECTION TEAMS COULD BE SUBJECT OF POSSIBLE FULL GROUP MEETING.

3. CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP CROSS RIVER, HUYDECOPER AGAIN URGED USG CONSIDER PARTICIPATION AS EQUAL. FERGUSON REITERATED PROBLEMS THIS "EQUALITY" WORKING OUT IN PRACTICE, THAT REAL ISSUE WAS TO FIND SPONSOR BALANCING BIAFRAN REQUIREMENTS OF "ACCESS TO POLITICAL POWER" VS. FMG FEARS DEROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

4. HUYDECOPER SCHEDULED 3:30 MEETING TODAY WITH ICRC (BASSET). SAID HE WOULD HIGHLIGHT NEED TO REPLACE ICRC (IN EVENT ICRC PULL-OUT FROM BIAFRA) WITH AGENCY SUCH AS LICROSS OR "COMMITTEE" OF LICROSS TO AVERT DONOR'S DILEMMA CHANNELING ALL AID THROUGH JCA. ALSO PLANNED DISCUSS ICRC'S INSPECTION PROGRAM FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS SINCE NOT DETAILED IN ICRC PROPOSAL.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03110 291841Z

6. DEPT PASS THE HAGUE.
TUBBY

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S/S-S-CMS		Serial No. <u>3110</u>	Dpty
S/S-O		Date <u>8-29-69</u>	

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
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U ✓ 5		ARA	
J ✓ 6		EA	
D ✓ 10		EUR ✓ 18	
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POC 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
SECRET 710

SECRET 710

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03099 291713Z

44
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INFO OCT 01,CCO: 00,SSO 00,NSCE: 00,/031 W

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0 291630Z AUG 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2758

S E C R E T GENEVA 3099

EXDIS

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA

FOR NEWSOM AND CHARGE LAGOS: FROM FERGUSON

1. CROSS RIVER TALKS HAVE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED READINESS AND WILLINGNESS BIAFRANS NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. COOKEY AND OBI HAVE AUTHORITY CONCLUDE REASONABLE, WORKABLE AGREEMENT. THERE IS SIGNIFICANT DEGREE FLEXIBILITY THEIR POSITIONS WHICH WOULD ALLOW COMPROMISE ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS DESIGNATION SPONSOR, NATURE OF GUARANTEES, AND INSPECTION PROCEDURE. IN GENERAL BIAFRANS ACCEPT CARTEL AGREEMENT AS WRITTEN AND HAVE SUGGESTED ONLY MINOR ADDITIONS OR CHANGES.

2. FMG ON OTHER HAND HAS REACTED IN EVERY WAY CALCULATED SLOW DOWN AND KILL ANY SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. HOLLIST IS UNPREPARED, UNINSTRUCTED, AND POWERLESS. HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS OR KOLO MAY ACTUALLY BE TO DO NOTHING. BOTH SESSIONS WITH HOLLIST, WITH BIAFRANS PRESENT AND ALONE, HAVE BEEN ACUTELY EMBARRASSING. AT LAST SESSION HIS ONLY INTELLIGENT QUESTIONS WERE COMPLETELY INGENUOUS AND INDICATED VIRTUALLY COMPLETE LACK PREPARATION OR BACKGROUND. EVEN AS EXERCISE IN STALLING IT IS INCOMPETENT.

3. BIAFRANS HAVE COME HERE EXPECTING SERIOUS TALKS AND POSSIBLE OBLIQUE APPROACHES TO TECHNICAL STARTERS ON EVENTUAL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE DISGUSTED WITH PERFORMANCE AND CLOSE TO BREAKING OFF. WE HAVE MANAGED OBTAIN THEIR

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AGREEMENT TO SHORT RECESS. HOWEVER, UNLESS FMG DEMONSTRATES GOOD FAITH WITHIN NEXT WEEK WE WILL BE FACED WITH DECISION TO TERMINATE CROSS RIVER TALKS. BIAFRANS ARE LIKELY AT THAT POINT PLACE TALKS AND THEIR FAILURE ON PUBLIC RECORD.

4. DEPARTMENT WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE INVESTMENT THESE TALKS. TALKS HAVE BEEN KEPT IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, SITE FOR TALKS IS IDEAL-SECLUDED AND PRIVATE. STAFF IS IN PLACE HANDLE ALL LIKELY CONTINGENCIES AT THIS STAGE. SUCCESS OF TALKS ON CROSS RIVER WOULD PROVIDE PRECEDENT OF INCALCULABLE VALUE IN RESTORING SOME MEASURE CONFIDENCE BOTH SIDES IN EACH OTHER AND COULD CREATE FORUM AND ATMOSPHERE WHICH CONDUCTIVE FURTHER TALKS ON GROUND RULES AND TECHNICAL PRELIMINARIES FOR SERIOUS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. FAILURE MAY ONLY FURTHER CONVINCE BIAFRANS THAT FMG STILL INSISTS ON MILITARY VICTORY.

5. I, THEREFORE, REQUEST URGENT AND STRONG SUPPORT FROM DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY LAGOS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT FMG SEND MEANINGFUL DELEGATION WITH POWERS REACH COMPROMISE AGREEMENTS. IN VIEW KOLO'S POSITION AS CHIEF OF DELEGATION, HE SHOULD BE OFFERED DEPUTY WHO HAS SOME STATURE, AS WELL AS GIVEN POSITIVE INSTRUCTIONS. WE WOULD NOT WISH OFFEND KOLO BY REQUESTING DELEGATION INDEPENDENT HIS CONTROL. I SHALL RAISE THIS MATTER WITH KOLO AGAIN SUNDAY, INASMUCH HE HAS INDICATED RECEPTIVITY ON THE PROBLEM.

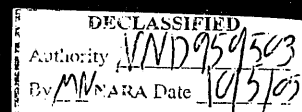
6. LAGOS REQUESTED WITH SPECIFIC CONCURRENCE DEPARTMENT TO APPROACH HIGHEST LEVELS FMG TO PRESENT NEED FOR MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION CROSS RIVER TALKS. SIGNIFICANCE THESE TALKS AS OPENING POSSIBILITY CONFIDENTIAL NON-RELIEF DISCUSSIONS WITH BIAFRANS WITHOUT CONSTRAINT PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE OR COMMITMENT TO SPECIFIC RESULTS SHOULD BE POINTED OUT TO FMG. US COMMITMENT ON CROSS RIVER AND INCREASING IMPORTANCE CONCRETE RESULTS SHOULD ALSO BE STRESSED. CONSEQUENCES FAILURE CONSTITUTES IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT.

7. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH COMMENT ABOVE POINTS. I BELIEVE, WASHINGTON SHOULD ALSO CALL IN TOMKINS OR OTHER HIGH LEVEL UK EMBASSY OFFICER AND CONVEY SUBSTANCE THIS MESSAGE. TOMKINS ACCEPTED IN MEETING WITH ME AUG 14 THAT UK

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 03099 291713Z

COULD ASSIST US IN OBTAINING MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION
CROSS RIVER TALKS. YOU MAY WISH INDICATE FRENCH COOPERATION
IN BRINGING BIAFRANS AROUND AND THAT WE EXPECT NO LESS
FROM UK.

8. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS AMEMBASSY LAGOS.
TUBBY

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S/S-S-CMS	31	Serial No. 3099	
S/S-O	11	Date August 29, 1969	Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S <i>✓</i>	<i>4 23</i>	AF <i>11 (co) 16-17</i>	
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INFO:
~~RPTX~~

Addis Ababa
Rome (~~For Ferguson~~) PRIORITY

44 B
29 AUG 69 23 29z
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ROME FOR FERGUSON

1. In general review current Nigerian problems at lunch between Iyalla and Brubeck today, Iyalla showed great concern over timing Ferguson trip Addis. While understanding Ferguson consultation with Emperor highly useful, Iyalla said Diallo Telli charges of US effort influence OAU meeting have been widely spread among Africans. Not only Lagos but other leaders would view with great suspicion Ferguson trip as further evidence Diallo Telli's charges US meddling in OAU meeting. He ~~suggested~~ urged we suggest Ferguson postpone trip until after OAU meeting.
2. Brubeck pointed out this fulfillment of undertaking to keep Emperor fully informed in wake Washington visit and is confined to briefing on US role in relief efforts.
3. Dept still inclined feel trip has merit and can be explained FMG in terms response to Emperor's interest and

Drafted by:

AF:WBrubeck:fm 8/29/69

Tel. Ext. 21185

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - David D. Newsom

Clearances:

S/PC - Mr. Ruser

U/CF - Mr. Davidson

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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-2-

desirability insuring Emperor has clear and accurate picture
US role particularly in view misleading rumor. However we
concerned not to jeopardize effort get further Nigerian
cooperation on Cross River talks. Comments requested.

ROGERS

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Clearances:

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INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, PC 04, ACDA 16,

UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, /155 W

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R 291703Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8713
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 7866

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP - AUGUST 29

1. ITS ALL ZIK. ALL PAPERS DEVOTED PRIME SPACE TO ZIK STATEMENT IN LONDON THAT HE FAVORS QTE ONE NIGERIA UNQTE. GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED POST OUTDID ITSELF WITH SIX-COLUMN FRONT-PAGE COMMENT ENTITLED QTE ZIK: A TESTIMONY EX-CATHEDRA UNQTE, A BACK-PAGE STORY HEADLINED QTE ZIK SLAMS THE REBELS UNQTE, AND THE FULL TEXT OF HIS STATEMENT CARRIED IN TWO CENTER PAGES. DAILY TIMES FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE WAS QTE AZIKIWE RETURNS NEXT WEEK UNQTE, A CONCLUSION NOT FULLY JUSTIFIED BY THE TEXT OF THE STORY BELOW. TIMES EDITORIAL WAS CALLED QTE WELCOME BACK TO THE FOLD UNQTE. OTHER PAPERS HAD ENTHUSIASTIC HEADLINES, EDITORIALS, AND MOST PRINTED TEXT OF ZIK STATEMENT

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07866 292001Z

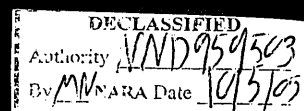
IN FULL. ZIK STATEMENT ALSO FEATURED ON RADIO AND TV EVENING AUGUST 28.

2. SOVIET SUPPORT. SOVIET AMBASSADOR ROMANOV REPORTEDLY SAID AT LAGOS AIRPORT, PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE TO MOSCOW ON LEAVE, THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD CONTINUE TO ASSIST NIGERIA UNQTE. STORY APPEARED ONLY BRIEFLY IN TIMES, ALTHOUGH LAGOS RADIO CARRIES ITEM IN SAME LANGUAGE.

3. NO RELIEF NEWS. NOTABLE FOR ITS TOTAL ABSENCE WAS ANY COVERAGE OF THE RELIEF PICTURE.
OLSON

UNCLASSIFIED

0894



64



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 257

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07833 291223Z

44
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, SS 20, NSC 10, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, SCS 04,

SCA 01, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, /081 W

O 291140Z AUG 69 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8694
USMISSION GENEVA

048842

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7833

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI ICRC HAS ASKED FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM HIM
BE PASSED URGENTLY TO NAVILLE:

BEGIN TEXT

REFERENCE CONVERSATION TELEPHONIQUE VEC FREYMOND
DEPUIS ROME JEUDI 28 20.00 H SUITE IMPOSSIBILITE
VOUS CONTACTER J'AI PU NOTER

1) DEAD LINE FIXEE PAR COMITE LUNDI 1 SEPTEMBRE.
JE COMPRENDS DONC QUE LUNDI JE POURRAI ENCORE
DISCUTER JUSQU'A 24.00 H DU SOIR ET QUE TOUTES
COMMUNICATIONS EVENTUELLES COMITE A PRESSE ETC.
N'AURAIT PAS LIEU AVANT MARDI 2 SEPTEMBRE APRES
AVOIR RECU CONFIRMATION MA PART IMPOSSIBILITE
ARRIVER RESULTAT

2) INFORMERAI IMMEDIATEMENT FMG INTENTION COMITE
CAS IMPASSE ET RETARD DECISION SELON (1).
INDIQUERAI QUE STOCKS CCO ET STISAB, ETC SERONT MIS
DISPOSITION DONATEURS. J'ESPERE QUE DIRECTIVES
EMPLOI SERONT DONNEES PAR DERNIERS ET PAS DIRECTEMENT
PAR CICR AUX TRANSPORTEURS. AIMERAIS AVOIR CONFIRMATION
SUR CE POINT. JE CONFIRMERAI QUE DECISION COMITE
DECOULE AUSSI REQUETES EMISES PAR DONATEURS.

CONFIDENTIAL

2~

0895

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Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 07833 291223Z

3) JE VAIS INDiquer D'AUTRE PART IMMEDIATEMENT QUE SECESSIONNISTES ONT ACCEPTE L'ENSEMBLE DU PLAN TECHNIQUE SAUF PETITES MODIFICATIONS QUE JE VAIS SPECIFIER.

4) J'AI COMPRIS QUE COMITE DESIRE CONTINUER ACTION NIGERIA NOTE FREYMOND DU 4 AOUT EN GARDANT APPAREIL LOGISTIQUE ET CERTAINES QUANTITES STOCKS. FERAI PROPOSITION APRES EXAMEN DEVELOPPEMENT PROCHAINS JOURS QUI RISQUE SI NEGATIF ENTRAVER NOS PROGRAMMES.

5) COMPRENDS VOTRE DESIR QUE REMISE STOCKS SE FASSE SEULEMENT A NRC. MALGRE DIFFERENTES RESERVES ET PRECAUTIONS PRISES SUR PLACE IL EST REGRETTABLE QU'ON AIT PAS SU IL Y A DEJA UNE VINGTAIN DE JOURS CE QUE LES VOLAGS ENTENDAIENT FAIRE.

6) JE CONFIRME NECESSITE GARDER CANAL COMMUNICATIONS PROCHAINS 5 JOURS OUVERT TOUS LES JOURS DIMANCHE COMPRIS HEURES HABITUELLES -- APPELS EXTRA ENTRE 16.00 ET 17.00.

7) DERNIERS JOURS ACTION HOCHE A CONTINUE OPINION OPTIMISTE PARTIELLEMENT MITIGRE LE TEMPS DISPONIBLE ETANT TRES COURT.

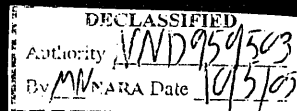
8) ESPERE AUJOURD'HUI OBTENIR COLLOQUE POUR DEMAIN AVEC CHEF DE L'ETAT.
ENDI TEXT

2. ACKNOWLEDGE DELIVERY TO NAVILLE. GP-4
OLSON.
BT

NNN

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(60)



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29 Aug 69 00 59z

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" LONDON "
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EXDIS

FOR FERGUSON

Subj: Ferguson Itinerary

Ref: (A) Geneva 3067; (B) State 144038; (C) State 145430

1. Department agrees itinerary proposed reftel. Believe discussion re Lagos trip can be deferred till return to Washington.
2. Dept has no additional suggestions your meetings in Paris. However, for Rome discussions, in addition to relief problem, pursue suggest you/ ~~reconsider~~ Dept interests indicated ref B in your discussion current Vatican initiatives.
3. In Addis, you should take line indicated para 1 ref C that because of questions US role Nigerian relief you going to Addis in order outline our current activities to Emperor. You should also reaffirm our continuing desire work as closely as possible with HIM. However, you should avoid any inquiries concerning upcoming OAU

146326
8/29/69

POL 27-901

(1)

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBS:erry:ba	DRAFTING DATE 8/28/69	TEL. EXT. 29311	APPROVED BY: The Under Secretary XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
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CLEARANCES

U/CF-Mr. Davidson

AF - David D. Newsom

S/S- Mr. ~~XXXXXX~~ Taylor

S/PC - Claus W. Ruder

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ACTION: GENEVA, ADDIS, LONDON, LONDON, PARIS, ROME PAGE 2
meeting in view ~~Nix~~ Nigerian sentivities this question.

[ROGERS]

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U/CF	<u>12</u>	Defense	<u>15</u>
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146895

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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45B
29 AUG 69 22 00
FOR OC/T USE ONLY

Origin: ACTION: USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE
Info: INFO: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY

—EXDIS

Subject: JCA Plane Request

Ref: Geneva 3071, 3080

1. Re Ferguson/Ruser/Davidson telecon, expect Department will be able give specific guidance tomorrow, August 30.
2. In meantime, we are seriously disturbed possibility of ~~leak~~ leaks such as unclassified JCA telex message contained Geneva's 3080, in particular effect such leak would have on present delicate ICRC negotiations with FMG and before Department able lay groundwork in Lagos for announcement.
3. Accordingly, would appreciate your deferring definitive reply to JCA on C-97 delivery, noting that you or Department will be in touch with them shortly. You may also wish indicate our serious concern over possible risks of leak and premature publicity.
4. Re your audience with Pope, if matters of delivery raised, you may wish respond along similar lines.

END

ROGERS

Drafted by: AF/SN:WHBrubeck *WMB*
Clearances: S/PC:CWRuser:th:8/29/69
U/CF:Mr. Davidson (in substance) U - Mr. Abramowitz
AF - Mr. Witman S/S - Mr. Brown *WMB*

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S/S-O	<u>11</u>	Date <u>29 August 69</u>	Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	<u>4</u>	AF	<u>16-17</u>
U	<u>5</u>	ARA	
J	<u>6</u>	EA	
D	<u>7</u>	EUR	
C	<u>10</u>	NEA	
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		State Rep	<u>19</u>
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53
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051049

Z 291647Z AUG 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2760

SECRET GENEVA 3101

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF-JCA C-97 REQUEST

REF: GENEVA 3071 PARA 7(B)

URGENT REQUEST INSTRUCTION POSITION TO TAKE
RE C-97 REQUEST IN VATICAN AND PAPAL AUDIENCES. MATTER
RAISED IN LAST PAPAL AUDIENCE. FERGUSON IN ROME AFTER
2000 LOCAL FRIDAY.
TUBBY

*Geneva 3101
8/29/69*

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S/S-S-CMS	<i>31</i>	Serial No. 3101	
S/S-O	<i>11</i>	Date August 29, 1969	Dpty

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J ✓ <i>6</i> ✓		EA	
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C ✓ <i>10</i> ✓		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/PC ✓ <i>12-13</i> ✓		White House <i>✓ ✓ 2/3</i> ✓	
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓ <i>14(a)</i> ✓		Defense ✓ <i>18</i> ✓	
		State Rep ✓ <i>19</i> ✓	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA ✓ <i>20</i> ✓	
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SECRET 242

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03091 291214Z

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ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01/031 W

R 291150Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2752

S E C R E T GENEVA 3091

EXDIS:

SUBJECT C-97

REFERENCE STATE 146268 *-ett*

U/CF FROM FERGUSON

1. REF OK AS STANDS. SUGGEST ADDING PARA (B) "YOUR REP. GENEVA, JEAN CHENARD, IS AWARE OF SOME OF THE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS NOW IN PROGRESS BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT."

2. COMMENT: OBJECT SUGGESTED ADDITION IS TO LAY BASIS FOR FIXING SOME RESPONSIBILITY ON JCA FOR DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES IF THEY MOUNT PUBLIC CAMPAIGN. CHENARD KNOWS OF CROSS RIVER TALKS AND STATE OF PLAY WITH ICRC, HAVING BEEN FULLY BRIEFED BY COOKEY/OBI.
TUBBY

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8/29/69*

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U ✓ ✓		ARA	
J ✓ 6		EA	
D ✓ 10		EUR	
C ✓ 7		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
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	ROGERS	

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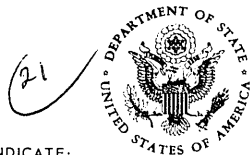
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- Nigeria
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FOR FERGUSON

REF: Rome 5479 POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

In view reftel assume, unless we hear further, no public statement planned in Rome.

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INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

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L I M D I S

ROME FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

1. Following ~~is~~ is contingency text being considered for use by Department spokesman on Sept. 1 or 2 in event ICRC announces complete withdrawal from Nigerian airlift:
2. QTE The United States deeply regrets that the International Committee of the Red Cross cannot now continue its Nigerian airlift relief operations. We greatly value its work, which has contributed to saving millions of lives on both sides of the fighting lines. We hope, therefore, that the International Committee will eventually be able to resume its role in Nigerian relief. UNQTE
3. Appreciate your comments.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:RLPerkins:nb	DRAFTING DATE 8/29/69	TEL. EXT. 23406	APPROVED BY: AF/WN - Mr. Brubeck
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NIGERIA
Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 182

PAGE 01 ALGIER 01518 291113Z

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ACTION AM 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, VNR 07

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UPD 01

SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, AID 28, RSR 01, 156 W

048424

R 291000Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4288
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL ALGIERS 1518

SUBJECT: JACOBSEN MISSION

REF: OSLO 3285

1. PRESS ANNOUNCED ARRIVAL AUGUST 28 OF NORWEGIAN STATE SECRETARY JACOBSEN ACCOMPANIED BY STOLIFENBERG. FONMIN BOUTEFILKA GREETED NORWEGIANS AT AIRPORT. THEY MET WITH PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE LATER IN THE DAY. JACOBSEN WAS QUOTED UPON ARRIVAL AS SAYING THAT HIS MISSION WAS TO IMPROVE AND CONSOLIDATE RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES. HEADLINE IN MOUDJAHID AUGUST 29 SAYS DELEGATION DISCUSSED BILATERAL RELATIONS. NO MENTION MADE OF NIGERIA QUESTION.

2. DELEGATION IS DUE TO DEPART MORNING OF AUGUST 29 FOR OSLO. HOFFACKER

CONFIDENTIAL
23

0911

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Algeria 1518
8-29-69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 205

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03088 291141Z

18

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, CCO 00, /071 W
----- 048578

O P 291121Z AUG 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2749
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3088

LIMOIS

SUBJ: PROPOSED STATEMENT AFTER PAPAL AUDIENCE

1. FOLLOWING IS INTENDED FERGUSON STATEMENT IN ROME AFTER PAPAL
AUDIENCE. WOULD APPRECIATE COMMENTS ASAP.

QUOTE: I AM VERY GRATEFUL TO HIS HOLINESS FOR GRANTING ME
ANOTHER AUDIENCE FOR A DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONS DIRECTLY RELATED
NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN RELIEF AND OTHER MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

THE DISCUSSION WAS VERY STIMULATING AND MOST USEFUL TO ME IN
CONNECTION WITH MY ASSIGNMENT AS SPECIAL COORDINATOR ON
NIGERIAN RELIEF.

AGAIN, AS AFTER MY AUDIENCE WITH HIS HOLINESS LAST MONTH AT
CASTEL GANDOLFO, I CAME AWAY DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH HIS DETERMIN-
ATION TO EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO HELP BRING PEACE TO HIS VERY
IMPORTANT PART OF AFRICA.

I ASSURED HIS HOLINESS THAT THE UNITED STATES APPRECIATES HIS
EFFORTS IN THIS AREA AND THAT HE HAS THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF
PRESIDENT NIXON IN HIS HOLINESS' EFFORTS TO BRING THE TWO SIDES
TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. END QUOTE.

TUBBY

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(3)

0912

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Department of State

ORG 7 U/CF

TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA -

NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 559

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03094 291541Z

48

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

050219

P 291530Z AUG 69

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2754

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3094

LIMDIS

SUBJ: PROPOSED FERGUSON ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN ADDIS ABABA

1. FOLLOWING IS INTENDED FERGUSON ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN ADDIS ABABA. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS ASAP.

QUOTE: I AM PLEASED TO BE IN THIS GREAT CAPITAL CITY AGAIN AND HONORED TO HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING RECEIVED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

I HAVE COME ADDIS ABABA TO EXPRESS THE DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT FOR HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S DEDICATED EFFORTS TO FIND A BASIS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, AND TO GIVE HIM A REPORT ON OUR EFFORTS TO RESTORE A SUBSTANTIAL FLOW OF RELIEF INTO THE BIAFRAN ENCLAVE.

THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN VARIED AND EXTENSIVE, INCLUDING AUDIENCES WITH HIS HOLINESS, POPE PAUL VI, AND A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIEF AGENCIES SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND JOINT CHURCH AID.

THE UNITED STATES PLACES THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON MOVING SUBSTANTIAL RELIEF AS SOON AS POSSIBLE INTO THE ENCLAVE. FOR THIS REASON, THE UNITED STATES IS ANXIOUS THAT A GENERAL PLAN FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS AND OTHER RELIEF ROUTES SHOULD BE AGREED UPON.

(2)

CONFIDENTIAL

0913

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority: VMD 954503
 By: MMNARA Date: 10/5/03

Memor 3094
 8-29-69

37

POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

146335
445
29 AUG 65 01 57z
FOR OC/T USE ONLY

Origin
Info

ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA

REF: 3080-pol 27-9 Bafra-Nigeria

REFTEL RAISED TO LIMDIS.

END

146335

ROGERS

Drafted by:

S/S-O: RDBlackwill:bso:8/28/69

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: S/S-O: BAFlatlin

Clearances:

1

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0914

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VND 954543
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 737

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07863 291716Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

RSR 01, /144 W

050929

O 291628Z AUG 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8698
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7863

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. IN MEETING IN UK HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE MID-MORNING, BIGNAMI, JUST RETURNED FROM GENEVA, BRIEFED US ON EVENTS OF YESTERDAY MUCH ALONG LINES ALREADY REPORTED FROM GENEVA. HE INDICATED THERE BASIC AGREEMENT NOW WITH BIAFRANS WITH WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS. BIAFRANS APPARENTLY INSIST ON RIGHT REFUSE ON SELECTIVE BASIS PLANES LAND IN ULT MAINLY IN EFFORT DEMONSTRATE THEIR "SOVEREIGNTY" AND CONTROL. APPARENTLY ICRC AMENABLE TO THIS ON SAME GROUNDS THEY AGREE TO FMG RIGHT OF CALL DOWN, NAMELY, THAT NEITHER SIDE INTERFERE SUBSTANTIALLY WITH ACTUAL DELAY RELIEF GOODS TO NEEDY. WE GATHER THAT THERE MAY STILL BE FEW "TECHNICAL DETAILS" TO IRON OUT WITH BIAFRANS BEFORE ANY AIRLIFT COULD ACTUALLY BE STARTED. BIGNAMI ALSO DESCRIBED MEETING WITH RODIN, PRESIDENT CARITAS, MAIN THRUST OF WHICH WAS THAT CARITAS MUCH PREFERS DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, AND ALREADY REDUCED THEIR FLIGHTS SOMEWHAT AS MEANS OF APPLYING PRESSURE AND SHOULD ICRC ACHIEVE AGREEMENT CARITAS WOULD WANT TO COME UNDER PLAN. BIGNAMI FEELS CARITAS ATTITUDE BE USEFUL IN DISCUSSIONS WITH FMG. UK HICOM WILL USE IN HIS TALKS.

2. UK HIGH COMMISSIONER HAS PREPARED EXCELLENT BRIEF IN

SECRET 22

0915

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

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WHICH HE MAKES ALL THE APPROPRIATE ARGUMENTS FOR FMG AGREEMENT TO ICRC EMERGENCY FLIGHT PROPOSAL AND WHICH HE INTENDS LEAVE WITH GOWON FOLLOWING MEETING WHICH HE STILL HOPES TO ARRANGE. MEANWHILE, HE HAS HAD ENCOURAGING MEETING WITH CHIEF ENAHORO AND HANDED OUT A NUMBER OF COPIES HIS BRIEF AT ENAHORO REQUEST. BEST NEWS OF DAY, HOWEVER, IS THAT SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, THERE WILL BE MEETING OF EXPERTS FROM VARIOUS MINISTRIES ON QUESTION OF ICRC PROPOSAL. THIS MEETING WILL BE FOLLOWED ON MONDAY BY SPECIAL MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (AN EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT INDEED) IN WHICH HOPEFULLY DECISION WILL BE MADE. AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, ODDS STILL SEEM TO BE IN FAVOR OF POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM FMG. MEANWHILE, WE, UKHC AND ICRC DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE PROMOTE SUCH DECISION. GP-1
OLSON
BT

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